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EDWARD GLOVER · EMANUEL MILLER
J. E. HALL WILLIAMS



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EDITORIAL

ANY visitor who returns to inspect the borstal system after twenty-five years is more likely to recognise certain changes than someone who has lived and worked within it during this time. Dr. Alper uses his observations as the text for a discussion of the whole policy of treatment of young adults, a theme of great topical importance when the future of approved schools and borstals is under general review. After decades of complaint that no new prisons or borstals have been built for a century, we now have a series of new purpose-built institutions, and it is disturbing if salutary to be warned that this may mark a period of psychological as well as physical petrification. Shall we soon be yearning for the great days of the inconvenient stately mansion and Nissen hut? Should the borstal system start out "on the road" again, as it did in the famous march to Lowdham? There will probably be no difficulty in admitting that by the time a prison or borstal is actually built, especially with the delays of today, it is likely to be out of date. But good régimes have always risen above unsuitable buildings, and this can presumably occur even when the buildings are new.

But Dr. Alper's comments go far deeper, and raise the whole question of institutionalisation. Nowadays the emphasis tends to be upon the damaging effects of institutions, and how to reduce them; there is less enthusiasm about any constructive side. In this there is a shift of emphasis in what used to be, twenty years ago, a considerable difference between U.S.A. and Britain in the philosophy of child-rearing. The older British tradition is that children need to be actively

educated if they are to achieve social adjustment; that if they "go wrong" they must be stopped at once, and given a substitute education, if necessary for many years in approved schools and borstals. If this policy fails, society gives up and somewhat apologetically settles for imprisoning the adult offender for three or six months for most subsequent offences. The opposing view, in the U.S.A., is that all children with initiative are liable to be transitorily delinquent. The first three or four detected offences can be dealt with by police warnings. If it becomes necessary to find the boy officially delinquent, relatively short periods of detention will be sufficient for the outside world has so many opportunities to offer. However, if he fails to profit from this permissive and expectant treatment, then society hardens its heart and as an adult he will be in prison for very long periods.

This contrast is of course overdrawn; and certainly today there is a greater approximation in the policies adopted in our two countries. In England a police liaison scheme is beginning, and to an increasing extent the various forms of treatment at liberty, which Dr. Alper suggests, have already been tried before a boy is committed to an approved school or borstal; there are even signs that as an adult the recidivist will be imprisoned for much longer periods. The question which is being asked increasingly on both sides of the Atlantic is: What real evidence is being collected to demonstrate that one treatment is better than another?

In theory, psychological tests of personality raise hopes that it may be possible to find objective and reliable ways of distinguishing categories of offenders. In the future it should be the psychologist who has the largest part to play in the classification and allocation of offenders, and in decisions about the most appropriate forms of treatment. But few will deny that personality tests have so far failed to fulfil these hopes. They frequently show differences between offenders and controls, but these differences cannot usually be related to any observed characteristics, clinical varieties or subsequent behaviour. Moreover, in most tests the answers to all questions, in the sub-scales at least, must be taken together and compared with norms. The profiles obtained in such tests as the MMPI and the Cattell 16 P.F. have sometimes been used in the individual case for the purposes of vocational guidance or personnel selection; but it is extremely doubtful whether such interpretations have any validity. The Semantic Differential Test—or Method—provides a new and potentially more

valuable approach, for it provides a means of recording the attitudes and associations of the individual. Although it can be used to compare the attitudes of a group of delinquents to such experiences as their home background, as Masters and Tong have done in this issue in a pilot study, it can be used with equal validity to measure the effects of psychotherapy of, say, a phobia in a single individual by recording the gradual reduction in anxiety in successive tests. It has infinite flexibility in relating one attitude to another. The difficulties are those inherent in all psychological tests, that the subject may not be co-operative, or, if he is, may not understand or be able to respond truthfully to the instructions.

Among the many unusual features of Masters' and Tong's study must be included their unusually frank admission that some of their significant associations might have been due to chance variations. The inherent temptation of the statistician to cover his doubts by a smoke-screen of figures has been nobly resisted.

It is round about ten years ago that John Bowlby produced his study of boy thieves concluding that maternal separation produced the affectionless character and a strong disposition to delinquent behaviour. Spitz and Goldfarb, to name the most outstanding workers, had already researched on the effect of disturbed maternal relations on child behaviour when it occurred early. The rather categorical claims of Bowlby and his co-workers have since been disputed by others, as Passingham states in his inquiry described in this issue, and this set going a research which, because of its negative conclusions, illustrates the complexity of the problem.

The continued inquiry into this aspect of delinquency is not surprising, coming as it does in a period of social unrest and uncertainty in many quarters as to the reasons for and consequences of changes in values in the alleged permissive society and the emergence of the Welfare State. The writer of this editorial note remembers examining a number of children who were evacuated from large industrial cities to the nearby safe countryside, and noting the large number of enuretics, formerly "clean," and others who were given to destructive raids on neighbouring property. The enuretics and the offenders came from at least "shaky" homes.

Today the interest in comparative psychology, called ethology, has shown dramatically in the work of the Harlows that both lower and higher mammals suffer through maternal deprivation; health suffers,

intelligence is impaired (shown in maze tests), sexuality and primitive social capacity suffer. It may be a far cry from mice to men, while biology is a continuum, yet at the highest level, and certainly in man, the prolonged period of infant helplessness, the influence of language, and the "*Kultur Kampf*" inherent in family life must make us pause before judging the human child on the sole basis of ethology. Passingham's careful study of his selected groups, sometimes on his admission heterogeneous and therefore calling for greater statistical reserve as regards the size of sample, etc., shows how much further we still have to go in the study of human behaviour at this time of unrest and dissolving values before forcing individuals into a statistical matrix wherever small sample techniques have engaged the mathematically minded. But where juvenile delinquency is the subject of inquiry, the offender is himself a complex familial and social pattern apart from the social region, itself fluctuant, in which he is embedded. Furthermore, in examining children already in home care or approved school, they are again found disturbed by new persons and new surroundings. Passingham's negative results do not counsel despair—rather they whip up our interest in the rich complexity of individual cases. From these cases proper *homogeneous* samples will be obtained from which statistics can supply data for defining trends and possibly their causes.

Dr. Foulds raises the thorny question of an operational definition of psychopathy and sets us a problem of trying to fit this rather isolated fact (that there is a sizeable group of inmates in a prison who score highly on hostility and on extrapunitive behaviour and which has no counterpart in a hospital). To solve such problems we need to set out the theories on one side and the clinical observations on the other and see which best match one another, or so it should be.

In general the theories of psychopathy can be grouped into two. Psychopathic behaviour based on organic (neuronal or biochemical) pathology is sometimes held to be independent of learning or experience; it is established that children's (so called immature) reactions are qualitatively different from those of adults, but of course the child's world must often seem more overwhelming and less resistible than that of adults; yet the similarity in some respects of the brain-damaged adult's behaviour to that of the normal child, and the persistence of "immaturity" despite ageing in some, but not all, and the familial occurrence of some patterns of immature behaviour even

in relatives (*e.g.*, the sociopathic father and his sociopathic son) who have never met, is suggestive, but not conclusive, of the existence of an organically determined psychopathic state; the early measuring of basic "organismic variations" of response, and the finding that these responses often persist through childhood despite a variety of experience, also supports this theory; so also does the correspondence of tangible markers (Karyotypes and specific reactions to drugs *e.g.*, the specifically paradoxical response of some aggressive psychopaths to amphetamine) with behavioural characteristics. On the other hand the psychogenic theory assumes that the psychopath has had specific learning experience—for example, that this sort of person or situation is dangerous, that this avoidance reaction brings some relief, or even the devastating lesson that it is better not to try, or that it is not worthwhile, to learn; such lessons, if acquired at critical developmental periods or under conditions which are especially favourable to learning (inability to escape, strong identification with the teacher, and in a highly emotional state) may be indelible and therefore exclusive of un-learning and adaptation; as variants of the psychogenic explanation the patient may be so lacking in anxiety that he does not respond sufficiently, or else, and more plausibly, he is so hypersensitive to anxiety that he cannot distinguish between little and big dangers.

But when we try to match observations with such theories we usually find that they fit both sides at least to some extent, and we are bound to accept that both these theories are probably involved in the majority of psychopathic persons; that, as ever, the ground and the seed must both contribute to the appearance of a psychopathic crop.

One deduction, however, is abundantly clear: that the possibility of there being one sort of true psychopath is inconceivable on either theory, and still more when both are operating. The range of lessons that can lead to the psychopathic state is legion and the organic factors and individual differences which may affect the learning of these lessons raises the variability of psychopaths to a high degree, in fact to the degree which we daily observe in our psychopathic patients.

Thus, while there is never going to be one operational definition of psychopathy this is no reason to desist from finding new ones which might usefully separate another recognisable and clinically meaningful chip from the psychopathic block. Left as it stands Dr. Foulds' observation would be of little value, but as he says further intensive and extensive research will be pursued, and that is what is needed in this research area.

BORSTAL BRIEFLY RE-VISITED

Recollections—and Some Related Reflections

BENEDICT S. ALPER (*Brookline, Mass.*) *

SINCE Hermann Mannheim suggested in the summer of 1965 that I set down a few observations of the two Borstals I briefly visited that summer, Roger Hood's excellent *Borstal Re-Assessed* (1965) has appeared. It represents the best—as it is the most recent—evaluation of what Borstal stands for today, as well as how it got there, and where it may be going. This study makes redundant—not to say presumptuous—any attempt on my part to undertake an analysis which could be expected to provide, even in abbreviated form, anything of comparable value. What follows is limited, therefore, to a few recollections of Borstal as I saw—or remember—it as it was at the outbreak of the last war. To this is coupled a brief reaction to Feltham and Huntercombe, the first re-visited and the second newly seen.¹ Thereafter will follow some related thoughts on corrections in general, as reaction to what goes before. References to the literature, made in passing are not meant to be complete: Hood's bibliography is both recent and inclusive (1965, pp. 229-239).

It had been just over twenty-five years since I had made my first direct contact with Borstal. In the summer of 1939, Dr. William Healy and I, accompanied by our wives, set out under a commission from the American Law Institute, financed by Rockefeller, to make what was intended to be the first full appraisal for American consumption of the Borstal institutions about which we in the United States had heard much but knew little. The American Law Institute, out of its conviction that the youthful age group was the most serious contributor to the problem of crime and offered at the same time the greatest opportunity for rehabilitative treatment, had projected the model Youth Correctional Authority Act, which it was hoped would be adopted in our larger States. Thus would be

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¹ Thanks are here extended to John Conrad, Department of Corrections, California, and Dr. Clyde Sullivan, Social Restoration Research Center, New York City, for their kindness in making available transcripts of their interviews with Borstal officials and lads during 1960-61.

carved away from the criminal process, for special care and attention, the older adolescent offender group, in much the same fashion as the juvenile court of forty years earlier had pioneered so successfully, followed by the establishment of the juvenile court clinic, with important implications thereafter for institutional treatment programmes.

Pertinax (does anyone still remember him?) had predicted that, despite all that had transpired in the preceding period, Hitler was now satisfied and the summer of 1939 would end as it had begun—tense, but without major war. But history had other plans. Hitler marched into Poland before my first month's stay at Feltham had ended; Drs. Healy and Bronner had already cut short their visit in early August as Pertinax's hopeful prophecy faded in the rumblings of what ultimately followed. Nor was it known at the time that many years would pass before renewed attention to the adolescent offender would bring the idea of special treatment of this age group once more to the fore. Despite the early onset of the war, material for our book on Borstal had nevertheless been gathered—thanks mainly to the dedication of Borstal administrative and other personnel, anxious that what they had learned and contributed to the "art" be recorded.

Now, some twenty-five years later, I was back in England. There were more than twice as many Borstals as before the war and, even though name and programme were now well known in America (thanks more to Brendan Behan than to Healy and Alper), questions were being asked in Borstal as to the value of its continuance, in the face of new thinking and new developments.

Meanwhile the "objects of Borstal training" had remained largely the same as they had been when the system was originally devised: "... to bring to bear every influence, which may establish in the inmates the will to lead a good and useful life on release, and to fit them to do so by the fullest possible development of their character, capabilities and sense of personal responsibility." In this process, "It is men and not buildings who will change the hearts and ways of misguided lads." (Home Office, 1964, pp. 20-21).

Borstal had been the projection of that wholly admirable man, Sir Alexander Paterson, mentor of our 1939 study. I here permit myself but one reminiscence of this valued friend—if only because the incident may not be well known.² In the winter of 1940-41, Sir

² A brief reference may be found in *Alec Paterson, An Appreciation* by Gordon Hawkins, privately printed, undated, p. 23.

Alec was sent by the Home Office to Canada to interview—whether hundreds or thousands I no longer recall—aliens who had been hastily shipped from England to Canada when the war began, in the fear that they might constitute a fifth column. Only after they had been shipped out did it become apparent that with them had gone much-needed talents and abilities, and that the risk they constituted might be more than offset by the contributions they might make to the winning of the war, were they to be brought back. Paterson was to interview them and thereafter to decide who was to be returned and who compelled to remain in Canada till the end of the war. I met him shortly after he arrived. He had not yet devised his formula, he said.

Some months after, before he left for home, we spent an evening together. It was the last time we saw each other. "Well" I asked, "your mission accomplished, what scheme did you finally work out to guide you?" "I settled," he replied, "for what I suppose you might call a psychological dowser." Those may not be his precise words, but they represent still, twenty years after his death, the substance of his thoughts; as they are the substance of the man himself, and of his approach to the selection of the leaders who evolved the Borstal programme and gave it its distinctive impetus and direction. "It is the declared policy of our Service in these times that we should first get hold of the best men possible, from whatever source they might be found, and then give them as wide a scope as possible." (Home Office, 1932, p. 20).

I treasure the memory of the man who wrote that—as I do of the men whom he selected and whom I knew in their daily rounds in 1939 when Borstal had, perhaps, a pre-eminence which it may never again attain. I recall their personalities as clearly as I do their names: Malone at Rochester, Joyce at Hollesley Bay, Child at North Sea Camp, Cape at Lowdham Grange, Sherwood at Nottingham, Llewelin at Usk, Vidler (and his Mrs.!) at Portland, Owens at Newport, Hayes, Bradley and Taylor at Feltham.

I name Taylor last because his was the first Borstal I had visited, and where I stayed the longest—before the war came. He is also the only one of the then Governors whom I had the good fortune to meet, later, when he had become Director of Borstal Administration.

His name remains fixed in my memory also because of what happened on the fateful Friday morning in late August when Hitler was about to march into Poland. I had come out from London, as

usual, to spend the day at Feltham, and was hardly in Governor Taylor's office when the 'phone rang. While he talked, in a low—and even for him grave—tone, I looked around the familiar room. Behind his desk and over the fireplace hung the crossed foils reminiscent of his fencing days. To the left, below the windows looking out over the exercise yard, stood a square black iron safe. Taylor finished his telephone conversation and then turning to me said, "You may want to get back to London and your wife; the Home Office has instructed me to open my sealed orders," saying which he went over to the safe, twirled the dial and swung it open. I felt as though I might be intruding—I was, after all, a safe American who could "beat it" any time he cared, and I said something like this to him as he broke the seal. "No need for you to go," he said, "you are a friend." With that he took out the papers and then said quietly, "We have to send home all those lads who have served six months, and there is a lot of work to be done to get them off." I offered to stay and help, and Taylor has later confirmed my memory that it was not until three o'clock the following morning that we had outfitted each of the departing lads with his proper suit, travel orders and tickets, pocket money and earnings, all toted up and ready to take off the next morning.

The memory of that day still stands vividly in my mind, though many of the details are, I am sure, as false as they are vivid. And so it was that I found myself again at Feltham, and walked once more through the gates—still open—and into the Governor's office to find the fireplace plastered over, the safe gone, and the old brown wood-work alive with bright colours. But the Borstal smell was there, as fresh and unchanged as it was on the last day I had walked out in October 1939 before I took the last boat for home. That old familiar smell—compounded of boots and mutton and soap and work uniforms and disinfectant—still lingered in the corridors and public rooms. The staff bar was there, the ale just as bitter. But the forge was gone, and the whole place had a more open feeling than I had recalled: less keys, less rigour, some laughter, more informality. Now there were case conferences, like the one I was privileged to attend with matron, doctor and psychiatrist and house-master—I believe they have been promoted to assistant governors now.

The farm atmosphere which typified Feltham as I recalled it—the horses, the ploughed fields, the marching, the emphasis on calisthenics and P.T.—was not so much in evidence as I had remem-

bered it 25 years ago, nor was I aware of the presence of the physically handicapped and the mentally retarded, for whom Feltham had previously been specified. The lads looked younger than I had remembered, too, but then, so did the staff: as one gets older, it is amazing how young the people seem to be who have taken over the running of the world!

With it all, I could not escape the feeling that a great change was reflected here—as I later noted when I visited Huntercombe—in the relationship between staff and boys. There was a freer attitude between the two groups easily noted even in a quick and superficial assay. At the same time I seemed to sense a note of greater truculence—or, at least, withdrawal—on the part of the boys themselves. Levity and enthusiasm are not generally the mark of persons in confinement anywhere, except perhaps on the day of their departure, but the feeling of a public school which had been such a distinctive mark of Borstals as I knew them seems to have vanished. War destroys some things which can never be brought back. I believe this to be so with the inter-relationships which had marked the pre-war Borstals. It seems also to be reflected in the type of lads presently committed to Borstal institutions.³

Nor am I prepared to say that the change in relationships is not for the better, given the increased aggression of the young, and the heightened volume of criminality which marks their generation, in Great Britain as in my own country. The former relationship, even at its best, smacked somewhat of the eleemosynary. In the other social welfare fields, this attitude is almost entirely gone. Why, indeed, should it linger on in correctional places for the young? Many of these view only with scorn the moral precepts and the religious training which was so integral a part of the Borstal idea—along with the influence it was expected would be exerted by the young men whom Alec Paterson had wooed from public school and University to dedicate themselves to helping the young offender.

Hermann Mannheim (1965) in his latest book has called attention . . . “to the fact that class differences play their part and often hamper the treatment of offenders, be it in institutions such as Borstals

³ Writing of the release of approximately two-thirds of all Borstal inmates who had been released between September and December 1949, the Prison Commission stated: “. . . those released were the seniors in the institutions and with them disappeared overnight all the carefully built-up tradition of 30 years. Those left behind had not had time to absorb it, and with no seniors to set the tone it was idle to expect stability and co-operation from beginners fresh from the courts against a rational background of excitement, dislocation and stress.” Annual Report for the Years 1939-41 (1946), p. 50, cited in Mannheim and Wilkins (1955, p. 29).

or in probation and after care work. The idea of Borstal treatment has been taken from the English public school system, and its atmosphere and ideology are therefore largely incomprehensible to the young urban toughs with whom it has to deal." The Governor of an open Borstal thus puts the problem: "Gone is that minority of vivid really able youngsters who had somehow found their way into borstal; and in their absence we realise how much we in open camps had come to rely on them to set the tone, keep the place running and form a backbone for so many of the activities. Our traditional population of older mature lads with light records, little previous institutional experience, and good Mannheim-Wilkins prognosis has thinned, and in their places we are getting many more lads of greater criminal sophistication, lengthier and more varied treatment experience and poorer prediction." (Home Office, 1965, pp. 22-23.)

In the brief time I spent at Borstals in early August 1965—including my talks with staff members, H. T. Taylor and later with R. D. Fairn at the United Nations Crime Congress in Stockholm—I came away with the conviction that the changes which had taken place in Borstal in this past quarter century reflected—as they were bound inevitably to do—the changes which had taken place in the entire British prison system. These included: the extension of the idea of the open institution, specialisation and professionalisation of personnel, the provision of workshops and industrial training more contemporary than the outmoded facilities and programmes which I had seen before the outbreak of the war. The introduction of some psychiatrically trained personnel⁴ had opened the way to group counselling and group therapy even if these had not yet attained the level of the guided group interaction programmes which are currently being expanded⁵ on our side of the water.

Of Borstal in 1939 we had said: "To be sure . . . no small part of the work done with Borstal lads partakes of the nature of psychotherapy; yet it is equally true that the fine endeavor to utilize personal influence is based very largely on the subjective impressions of the individual members of the staffs." (Healy and Alper, 1941, p. 228.) Nor had this changed greatly in the intervening quarter century. A competent observer recently reported that: "Even

⁴ I have very clear recollections (during my first visits to Borstals) of the evenings of heated discussion with young housemasters, over the place—and even the validity—of Freudian concepts in the treatment of young offenders. I doubt it would be possible to hold similar discussions with such heat today!

though methods of group counselling are now being used, psychotherapy proper is still almost unknown in Borstal. The role of the housemaster has been described as analogous to that of the psychotherapist but few have received any formal training in psychology or in casework techniques." (Hood, 1965, p. 146.)

With the drawing of local education authorities into the programme of the institution, what had been one of the distinctive characteristics of Borstal living was now extended into the prisons. The result has been that these places have greater opportunity to develop a coherent system of education, with prison authorities and local education authorities working out the best and most applicable system of education.

The more open the institution, the greater become the chances of getting inmates away from their preoccupation with themselves, to bring them to an identity with the larger world outside, to which they are being trained to return. As but one instance, involvement in a series of group therapy sessions is likely to be more effective in an open institution than in a closed penal station. Here, any attempt at sharing of experiences or the interchange of attitudes and an effort to build an inmate culture which is not solely anti-authoritarian constitutes almost a mockery by reason of the contrast between the locus of confinement and the fuller aspirations toward freedom inherent in these self and group analytic sessions.

However tentatively, Mannheim and Wilkins (1955, p. 213) have adduced at least some evidence that Borstal may stand to benefit from three suggestions which seem to arise from their excellent study of prediction. The first is the possibility that greater success may follow confinement in an open institution than in a closed; secondly, the stay in the institution may safely be reduced; while some grounds are found for extending the period of after-care supervision in the community.⁵

Then again there are still others who would have the "newer" approach to Borstal operate on an even closer relationship between the school and the community, a relationship which should be reflected in treatment programmes, vocational training, and in the composition and role of the staff. The social training of the lads who come to Borstal, it is maintained by one observer, is so defective that they are unable to conform to social demands, and may therefore require for their social rehabilitation perhaps a greater degree of contact between

⁵ A more recent study seems to confirm at least one of these findings: cf. Banks, Maliphant & Wallis (1964, p. 192).

the local community and the institution, as the basis of new and broader approaches to treatment (Carnegie, 1964).

Some questions arise inevitably in the course of any such discussion as this. Is the school routine so settling, so institutionalising for some lads that they may become almost too well adjusted to it, and then have to undergo a period of de-institutionalisation? If, of the entire term of confinement, some three months are spent in getting the boy adjusted, and a like period at the end of his stay extracting him from it, what could be done with this same half-year, spent in the community on a course of treatment geared to helping him improve his adjustment to it? If admittedly one of the purposes of institutional treatment is to attempt to break "the long pattern of failure" (a phrase so commonly cited that it merits quotation marks), why should it be assumed that this can be attained only by locking a boy away from his normal environment?

For in Great Britain, as in the United States, the emphasis on treatment in the community—of newer measures such as half-way houses, hostels, and the further extension of probation⁶ and parole—gives hope that what were originally devised as ancillary services, or what might be called pre- and post-confinement methods (probation and after care), may one day almost completely supplant the existing fixed institution.

What is suggested here is not so extreme as it may seem. For years the Borstal system of training has taken pride in the interchanges which it encourages between institution and community. Visiting committees, volunteers, teachers and ministers come into the institution; Borstal boys, reciprocally, partake in a wide variety of community activities; they attend schools, participate in community, club and church functions and in sports and games. In addition, Borstal lads go camping and mountain climbing, participate in Outward Bound projects, enrol in mountain or sea schools during the summer, go on home leave for periods up to five days, with additional leave permitted to seek employment (Home Office, 1960, p. 159). As far back as 1939, boys from Usk were permitted to go out to work on nearby farms. This is paralleled in the United States by the recent spate of so-called work release laws which permit prisoners to be released for work in the community during the day, returning to the institution at night (Federal Bureau of Prisons, 1965, pp. 58-60).

⁶ In 1964, for the first time, the number of convicted offenders placed on probation by Federal Courts in the United States exceeded the number sentenced to institutions.

These developments pose a question which in all fairness deserves an answer: if part of a penal stay may be spent in the community—for religious, educational, medical, employment or recreational purposes—is it not purely a matter of emphasis, and of bold and imaginative administrative procedures to locate most of the treatment process in the community, thus reducing almost to nil the requirements for residence in traditional congregate places of confinement?

An interesting illustrative reply comes from the experimental model therapeutic home, Northways, established in 1961 for boys released from Borstals who had no homes to return to. Established in a stable, mixed middle and working class neighbourhood with available employment opportunities, it took for its experimental group boys between seventeen and twenty years of age, just released from Borstal, who were of average intelligence, from the working-class, employable, with at least five years of institutional living, not schizophrenic nor overtly homosexual. The warden was a trained socio-therapist; she and her assistant lived in the house and the services of an affiliated psychiatrist who resided in the neighbourhood were available. Each boy was told from the beginning of his stay that he had a choice of staying or leaving. He was further expected to share in paying the costs of the house and to participate in the weekly group meetings. Refusal to conform to these two expectations would be interpreted as a desire on the boy's part to leave. Otherwise he was free to remain until he had reached age twenty-one or could successfully hold a job in the community without paranoia or related reactions. The desirability of a transitional experience between institution and community is clearly indicated by the results of this experiment (Miller, 1964).

There are many variations on the theme of innovative and experimental non-institutional approaches to the problem of youthful anti-social conduct. Two instances may be cited from my own country—one from the Mid-West and one from California.

In Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan, group foster homes are accepting from the courts boys and girls who are not considered suitable for probation, who may at the same time not require formal commitment to a reformatory or industrial school. The foster parents are paid at what can only be considered a most generous rate, when compared to what is paid for foster home care for non-delinquents, and a fixed monthly rate per bed is guaranteed, whether it is occupied or not. Monthly boarding rates of up to \$125 plus clothing, medical

and dental care and incidentals are provided, so that a man and wife who agree to take boys or girls from the courts are amply reimbursed. Supervision is provided by the appropriate State agency (Keller, 1966, pp. 32-45). This would appear to be an effective answer to the age-old complaint that to pay generously for foster home care would only serve to attract the mercenary, when in fact those who have been willing to take children into their homes for what was in effect little above cost all too often gave not much more than that to their young charges. High as such rates appear to be, compared with what has prevailed hitherto, it is still well below institutional *per capita* costs.⁷ At the same time providing a family setting in a neighbourhood where there is, at the least, an *opportunity* to behave like every one else—on the street, at work, school, and other community activities.

The State of California—at least until recently the most progressive State in matters of social welfare, as it is now our most populous—has initiated a programme of intensive probation supervision for young offenders who would otherwise be committed to institutions. At annual *per capita* costs which are drastically lower than institutional care, a small case-load—of six or eight—is assigned to a probation officer who deals with them on a highly individualised and intensive basis. One is led to conjecture what could be done in Great Britain with this intensive kind of supervision where Borstal staff-inmate ratios are currently reported at close to 1 to 2! (Home Office, 1960, p. 100).

Community involvement is, in fact, the keynote of much that is going on here, which may find many parallels in Great Britain. The great strides which have been taken in mental health, with open institutions, and the recent spread of community mental health centres to local neighbourhoods, have much of demonstrable value for the penal field. When emotionally disturbed persons can voluntarily apply for entrance into one of these community stations, stay as long as may be considered necessary, depart without any formal court order, and return whenever they feel the pressures upon them again become too great, then the "heat" is out of the process of dealing with the mentally disturbed, the necessity for court

⁷ Cf., the annual *per capita* cost of Borstal training which was calculated, some seven years ago, at £551 8s., exclusive of maintenance and construction. One is tempted to inquire what level of foster care could be obtained in Great Britain today for that kind of money, leaving aside the inflation that has taken place since 1960. "Prisons and Borstals," *op. cit.*, p. 102.

intervention is virtually eliminated, and the way cleared for considerations solely of a therapeutic nature.

In the same manner, the "heat" is being taken out of the criminal process. Now that drunkenness has been deemed a disease and not an offence, we shall have struck a huge block of "criminals" from our care, as well as off the statistical rolls. In my own State of Massachusetts, a woman alcoholic who feels herself in need of help may voluntarily commit herself to the Reformatory for Women at Framingham (made famous by Miriam Van Waters) and stay until she has both dried out and received help from the staff. If this can take place with the common drunk, what category shall we next begin to treat with the same kind of understanding, non-punitive outreaching? The State of New York has just now (July 1967) struck down as unconstitutional the concept that vagrancy—"being without visible means of support"—constitutes an offence. It is difficult to escape the conviction that if these feudal vestiges can be swept away by more enlightened attitudes, then the entire field of rehabilitation of the offender is on the brink of a great new breakthrough. One is tempted to ponder what may be the ultimate consequences of these developments for the criminal court process itself.

The search for aetiological factors in the genesis of crime, which has occupied social scientists—since when, Cain and Abel?—and which was satisfied in the pre-war years that delinquency was the product of an inter-action between poverty and physical or emotional inadequacy, continues to beguile. The wider social setting in which conduct which is beyond mere "criminal" activity is countenanced in high places is receiving broader attention than ever it did. Against this kind of background it is not surprising that the emphasis on moral values, the idea of exposing Borstal lads to splendid examples of young manhood who would exemplify for them the decencies of social inter-action and the uplifting influences of religion and cultural values, no longer works. The world is a tougher place; values are neither so clear cut nor so acceptable as common currency of life. Goals—especially of a materialistic kind—are more open to question than ever before; the reaction of the young to what they regard as hypocrisy of their elders was never so violent nor so evident, in all social classes. Against the realisation of where he came from and what lies ahead for him, why should any Borstal lad want to win over a public school boy—or even compete with him?—asks *The*

Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner. Where can an answer be found which is as eloquent as is the question that Sillitoe poses?

From this kind of consideration, how can we evolve an acceptable, consistent and effective way of dealing with our errant young? Borstal, which showed the way for over sixty years and worked its ferment in the penal field throughout the world is simply no longer so complete an answer as it was once held to be. We said in 1939: "The habit of steady work, a full day of labor, study, play, and sleep, a growing physical strength as well as a sense of improved relationships with one's colleagues and superiors—these are the tools for correcting the deficiencies and lacks which individual boys bring with them from the outside world." (Healy & Alper, 1941, p. 97.) But the world has altered greatly since we described Borstal in those words: nor is the Borstal system itself unchanged.

Yet within it lie many of the seeds of what seems to be emerging in the treatment field. The wide variety of physical facilities which have for these many decades housed the developing Borstal idea must not be permitted to stand in the way of the newer attitudes which are being put into practice in enlightened jurisdictions. Sheldon Glueck was fond of saying that, if architecture is frozen music, prisons are frozen penology. Surely one of the most serious roadblocks to the advancement to a more enlightened and effective system of treating convicted offenders is the number of granite and steel archaic penal stations which bestride the road of social progress. An abandoned prison has few other uses, and fewer buyers. Yet its high initial cost and its very solidity discourage the impatient innovator who would persuade the public—and the appropriations committee—that his plan merits a new structure, when a penitentiary built a century ago is as good as new, and besides that, more secure than anything we could afford to erect today. Fortunately, the high cost of prison construction—it is estimated that accommodation today costs in the vicinity of \$15,000 to \$20,000 per man to build—is not without its advantages. For it forces the authorities, if only on fiscal grounds, to search for less expensive accommodation.

Thus it is heartening to learn that the United States Bureau of Prisons is thinking in terms of built-in obsolescence of any new penal stations; so designed and constructed that when they have outlived their usefulness they can be torn down with no great loss. The State of Vermont has completed a treatment centre for youthful offenders, so designed that should it ever no longer be needed for this purpose,

it may readily be converted to use as a school, hospital, sanatorium, or home for the aged.

Borstal, in its development, took over a wide variety of facilities and adapted them to its purpose; camps, wartime installations, private estates. As it evolved, it may well be expected that many of these places may revert to their former use. But the moral to be drawn is clear: that in the future no correctional innovation should be permitted to freeze itself into permanence, by reason of a building designed to its new purpose.

Meanwhile, a move toward consolidation of treatment facilities for the offender under twenty-one seems evident. If Borstal training can be made applicable to fifteen-year olds, at the same time that "those who cannot benefit from approved school training or interfere with the training of others" are authorised to be transferred to Borstal, Britain, it would appear, may be ready to inaugurate a truly comprehensive scheme of treatment stations for its young delinquent population.

Having fulfilled the promise appropriate to its age, Borstal may yet yield to newer methods and a bolder design. In this new picture, the outlines of an out-lived Borstal philosophy can never be completely dimmed, nor its contribution to the newer design ever fully fade.

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THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL TEST WITH BORSTAL SUBJECTS

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Introduction

MOST surveys dealing with delinquency mention maladjustment within the home as a fairly central factor. Burt (1929) stated: "Among social conditions by far the most potent is the family life." Coleman (1964), in his summary of the four sets of conditions which appear to be of key importance in delinquency, includes "pathogenic family relationships." Andry (1963) found that a greater percentage of recidivists felt emotionally close to neither parent as compared with non-recidivists.

The present report concerns an attempt to test objectively various hypotheses related to experience of "pathogenic family relationships" in Borstal subjects and a control group. It was argued that an individual's experiences would manifest themselves as an "attitude" towards the subject of the experiences. Hence, if the connection between attitude and reaction to experience holds true, then where an individual makes a statement that his home was a good one, it seems reasonable to assume that *his experiences* of that home were good ones, *regardless of how that home might be assessed by other individuals*. For example, Mannheim and Wilkins (1955) found little agreement in the home assessments made by different types of house visitor. Toch (1961) writing on the difference between *description* of social pressures upon the delinquent and the actual *experiencing* of these pressures says: "What this means is that neither deprivation, nor lack of supervision, nor the bad advice of playmates, nor the harshness of a severe father can produce delinquency directly. These pressures must first be experienced as pressures; they must stimulate resentment, frustration, anger, despair, cynicism or any of the other feelings, attitudes, purposes, and values which predispose towards delinquency."

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The Semantic Differential Test

In 1957 Osgood, Suci and Tannerbaum published a research with the measurement of meaning, using an instrument called the Semantic Differential. The rationale of the Semantic Differential is that words represent things as a mediation process. This is the crucial identification, the mechanism that ties particular signs to particular significates rather than to others. It is apparent that the meaning which different individuals attach to the same signs will vary to the extent that their behaviour towards the thing has varied, because the composition of the representational process (which is the meaning of the sign) is entirely dependent upon the nature of the *total* behaviour occurring while the sign is being established.

Accepting these differentiations of experience evoked by the same stimulus word Osgood *et al.* (1957) then sought for some method by which a subject, on being presented with a stimulus word, could indicate what it meant to him. Their research indicated that there were certain commonly used adjectives which had a significant evaluative basis. Subjects were asked to pair such adjectives in polar opposition and by this process the most commonly used pairs were found, *e.g.* Good-Bad, Awful-Nice, Foolish-Wise, *etc.* Using various stimulus words or concepts Osgood *et al.* found that a subject could now indicate the direction of his experience with the word or concept by underlining one of any pair of polar opposites. Further study with intervals between commonly used opposites showed that with a seven-interval arrangement between, say, "Good-Bad," a subject was able to indicate the intensity of his experience with the stimulus concept. That is to say, the subject considered the concept or stimulus word to be in one of the seven gradings spaced from Good to Bad. Osgood *et al.* called this arrangement of word pairs "Polar Scales" and used the term Semantic Differential for the whole test.

Since the original work the Semantic Differential has been used in numerous psychological studies. In particular, psychiatric patients have been found to differ from normals in respect of concepts such as FATHER, MOTHER, ME (Beitner, 1961), and patients desiring to remain in hospital view the outside world differently from those who wish to leave (Gordon and Groth, 1961). Other studies have been concerned with response bias for different psychiatric groups (Arthur, 1966; Tong and Masters, 1967).

Hypotheses

From the literature dealing with delinquency we have the suggestion that adverse home experiences are allied to delinquency. From the studies with the Semantic Differential it appears that this technique evaluates such experiences. Hence by selecting three groups of subjects, non-offenders, non-recidivist offenders, and recidivist offenders, and assessing their responses to three clusters of concepts one would propose the following hypotheses:

1. There will be differences between the recidivist, non-recidivist and non-offender group mean scores for the evaluative factor on the three clusters of concepts designated Central, Peripheral and Distress (see below).

2. Differences of a hierarchical nature should appear on these concept clusters pointing to the greatest home and social adjustment by the non-offender group and the least home and social adjustment by the recidivist group.

Subjects

The delinquents studied were all trainees at a New Zealand Borstal institution. The term "recidivist" refers to a Borstal trainee who re-offended within six months of release. The term "non-recidivist" refers to a Borstal trainee who had not re-offended eighteen months after release. The term "non-offender" refers to a subject of the Borstal age range but "institutionalised" in a Naval or Air Force training establishment. For this study there were twenty subjects in each group.

The Test

Stimulus Words

Three groups of stimulus words (or concepts) were chosen, as follows:

Central Stimulus Words

HOME, FATHER, MOTHER, ME, BODY

Peripheral Stimulus Words

WORK, SCHOOL, MAN, WOMAN, BOY, GIRL, BABY, OTHER PEOPLE.

Distress Stimulus Words

NEED, LOVE, HATE, FEAR, SEX, PUNISHMENT, RUNNING.
("Running" is a synonym for "escape".)

Polar Scales

Osgood *et al.* by means of factor analysis, derived three dimensions of meaning which they termed Evaluation, Potency and Activity. Each of the various polar scales used belongs mainly to one of these dimensions as follows:

Evaluation Dimension: Bad.....Good; Awful.....Nice; Foolish.....Wise; Cruel.....Kind; Dirty.....Clean.

Potency Dimension: Strong.....Weak; Hard.....Soft; Heavy.....Light.

Activity Dimension: Fast.....Slow; Active.....Passive.

Test booklet

Twenty sheets of the polar scales were stapled together to form a test booklet with each page devoted to a single stimulus word or concept. (See Appendix I.) The scales were reversed alternately as a check to a subject making his marks down one side of the polar scales. This would not, of course, check a central tendency on the part of a cautious subject who might decide that the middle space was a safe evaluation. The five pairs of polar scales which Osgood *et al.* (1957) had found the most evaluative of attitude (Bad-Good; Awful-Nice; Foolish-Wise; Cruel-Kind; Dirty-Clean) were mixed alternately.

The stimulus word or concept was cut out from a printed sheet and pasted on the top of each page separately, to make it stand out from the printed page of polar scales. The concepts (one to each page) were in an order from the Peripheral group, through the Central group to the Distress group, as follows:— WORK, SCHOOL, MAN, WOMAN, BOY, GIRL, BABY, OTHER PEOPLE, HOME, FATHER, MOTHER, ME, BODY, NEED, LOVE, HATE, FEAR, SEX, PUNISHMENT, RUNNING.

Instructions

These were read out to the subject and are given in detail in Appendix II. A large twenty-two inch by thirty inch sheet indicating the manner in which choices could be made was used as a visual aid. Subjects were asked to place a tick in the space of their choice indicating the meaning that the concept or stimulus word held for them.

Scoring

The research by Osgood *et al.* indicated that with a seven-interval scale between word opposites a subject could indicate a concept value.

For example a tick in the first interval (say in the polar scale "Bad-Good") would imply that the particular concept (say "HOME") evoked a bad experience and could be assessed as the lowest score, i.e., one point. A tick in the seventh interval would imply a good experience evoked by the stimulus word and would receive seven points. A subject could indicate his experience from Bad through to Good, and thus score from one to seven points for each polar scale for each concept.

Results

The evaluative factor—Central concepts group

The polar scales used in the current study for assessing this factor were Bad-Good, Awful-Nice, Foolish-Wise, Cruel-Kind, and Dirty-Clean. The mean scores for the Central group of concepts (HOME, FATHER, MOTHER, ME, BODY) were:— non-offenders 150.75, non-recidivists 149.8, recidivists 119.25. An analysis of variance for these three groups (Table 1) indicated highly significant between-group differences. A comparison of each group of subjects with each other indicated highly significant differences between recidivists and non-recidivists ($t = 6.4$, $p = .005$). The difference between the means of the non-recidivists and the non-offenders was not significant. Hence the recidivist does view his home environment more adversely than does the non-recidivist or the non-offender.

The group means for the individual concepts or stimulus words are shown in Table 2, from which it can be seen that the largest difference between the groups of subjects is for the concept HOME, followed closely by the concept FATHER. The comparatively low scores for the recidivists for the concept ME, included to assess the self-image, seem to indicate a relationship between poor self-regard and delinquency.

An analysis of the five polar scales used indicated that Bad-Good, Awful-Nice and Cruel-Kind most clearly differentiated between the non-offender and recidivist groups.

Evaluative factor—Distress concepts group

The mean scores for the Distress concepts (NEED, LOVE, HATE, FEAR, SEX, PUNISHMENT, RUNNING) were: non-offenders 166.05, non-recidivists 159.65, recidivists 148.9. An analysis of variance (Table 3) indicates significant between-group differences. Inter-group comparisons indicated a highly significant difference between recidivists and non-offenders ($t = 2.92$, $p = .005$), a significant difference

between recidivists and non-recidivists ($t = 1.89$, $p = .05$), and an insignificant difference between non-recidivists and non-offenders. The group means for the individual concepts are shown in Table 4, from which it will be seen that the largest difference between the groups of subjects is for the concept SEX, followed by the concept LOVE. It seems feasible that poor self-regard coupled with a poor opinion of love and sex would imply considerable feelings of rejection. Supporting evidence could be the recidivists' greater mean score for the concept HATE indicating a higher regard for it.

Evaluative factor—Peripheral concepts group

The mean scores for the Peripheral concepts (WORK, SCHOOL, MAN, WOMAN, BOY, GIRL, OTHER PEOPLE, BABY) were: non-offenders 207.35, non-recidivists 213.85, recidivists 194.85. An analysis of variance (Table 5) indicates significant between-group differences. Inter-group comparisons indicated a significant difference between recidivists and non-recidivists ($t = 2.8$, $p = .005$), a significant difference between recidivists and non-offenders ($t = 2.1$, $p = .025$) and an insignificant difference between non-recidivists and non-offenders.

The mean scores for the individual concepts are given in Table 6. It will be seen that the concept SCHOOL shows the largest difference between the means. The reaction to the concept WORK by the recidivist group offers evidence that the recidivist views his job as adversely as he views his home and his school. It is relevant to note that Crites (1962), seeking for a correlation between an individual's identification with his parents and his job interest, used results from the Semantic Differential and the Strong Vocational Interest Test. He found that the father plays a more dominant role in the formation of job interest pattern than the mother and that the intensity of an individual's identification with either or both of his parents directly influences the masculinity-femininity of his interests.

Potency and activity factors—all concepts

The group means for the three concept-clusters and the two factors, Potency and Activity, are given in Table 7. An analysis of variance indicated no significant differences.

It will be observed from the test booklet description in Appendix 1 that the Potency polar scales run from Strong to Weak, from Hard to Soft and from Heavy to Light so that a low mean on this factor

indicates that the particular subjects viewed the concepts as being strong, hard and heavy; similarly a high mean indicates a rating of weak, soft and light (or less powerful in terms of Osgood's identification of power with the Potency factor).

The Activity factor measured by the polar scales which ran from Fast to Slow and from Active to Passive, are also so placed that a low mean score indicates a fast active view of the concepts, whilst a high mean indicates a slow passive reaction. Osgood has equated the Activity factor with the terms "excitement and agitation" and the current results would suggest a continuum of excitement, as it were, with its agitated peak in the non-offenders' reactions and its apathetic base in the recidivists' reactions.

The polar scales

For subsequent research it is important to determine which are the polar scales which differentiate most clearly the three groups of subjects. For this purpose the mean score for each group on each of the pairs of polar scales was calculated. The results contained eight differences between means which were almost three standard deviations apart, and between two and three spaces in the test sheets. These large differences were spread over five pairs of polar scales and four stimulus words or concepts, as follows:

- Polar scale Bad-Good for concepts HOME, FATHER
- Polar scale Awful-Nice for concepts HOME, FATHER
- Polar scale Foolish-Wise for concepts SEX, ME
- Polar scale Cruel-Kind for concepts HOME
- Polar scale Strong-Weak for concepts HOME

On statistical grounds one must accept that for the large number of differences that were analysed it could be that these cited above represent only chance variation. Nevertheless subsequent research should take the implications into consideration.

Conclusions

The results show that when delinquents (as represented by the recidivist group) assess their home and social environment on the Semantic Differential, and these assessments are compared with those of non-delinquents (non-offender group), the mean scores differentiate the two groups and indicate that an adverse view of the home and social environment is held by the offender. Hence the first hypothesis can be accepted.

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In addition to this differentiation the offenders who are likely to be successfully rehabilitated (as measured by not re-offending) are more socialised than the recidivists but less than the non-offenders. Hence the second hypothesis can also be accepted.

The results indicate that of Osgood's three dimensions of meaning the Evaluative factor successfully differentiated the three groups. Generally speaking differences between the three groups of subjects supported the notion of socialisation continuum.

Apart from the theoretical aspects of this study an important feature was to investigate the possibility of developing a suitable technique for the investigation of delinquent attitudes. The results indicate that the Semantic Differential could well be developed in this general direction and possibly be of diagnostic and prognostic value.

Appendix I

The following is a replica of a single sheet from the test booklet as presented to the subject. There would be any one of the twenty concepts placed at the top of the sheet. The scales marked P are the Potency scales, those marked E are Evaluative scales and those marked A are Activity scales.

Concept

P strong	.....	weak	
bad	.....	good	E
P hard	.....	soft	
awful	.....	nice	E
P heavy	.....	light	
foolish	.....	wise	E
A fast	.....	slow	
cruel	.....	kind	E
A active	.....	passive	
dirty	.....	clean	E

Appendix II

The text of the instructions to the subject was as follows: "The purpose of this study is to measure the *meanings* of certain things to various people by having them judge them against a series of descriptive scales. In taking this test please make your judgments on the basis of what these things mean to you. On each page of this booklet you will find a different concept to be judged and beneath is a set of scales. You are to rate the concept in each of the scales in order.

" Here is how to use these scales.

“ If you feel the concept at the top of the page is *very closely related* to one end of the scale, you should place your tick as follows:

fair ✓ : : : : : : unfair

or

fair : : : : : √ unfair

“ If you feel that the concept is *quite closely related* to one or the other end of the scale (but not extremely) you should place your tick as follows:

strong : $\sqrt{\quad}$: : : : : weak

or

strong : : : : : $\vee$: weak

“ If the concept seems only slightly related to one side as opposed to the other (but is not really neutral) then you should tick as follows:

active : : $\sqrt{\quad}$: : : : passive

or

active : : : : $\sqrt{\quad}$: : : : passive

“The direction towards which you tick, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seems most characteristic of the thing you are judging.

“ If you consider the concept to be *neutral* on the scale, both sides of the scale to be *equally associated* with the concept or if the scale is *completely irrelevant* or unrelated to the concept, then place your tick in the middle space :

safe : : √ : : dangerous

Important

(I) Place your tick in the middle of the space

	This				Not This	
•	: √ :	:	:	:	√:	:

(2) Be sure you tick every scale for every concept—*do not omit any*.

(3) Never put more than one tick on a single scale.

" Sometimes you feel as though you have had the same item before in the test. This will not be the case. Do not look back and forth through the items. Do not try to remember how you ticked similar items earlier in the test. Make each item a separate and independent judgment. Work at a fairly high speed through this test. Do not puzzle over individual items. It is your first impressions, the immediate feelings about the items, that I want. On the other hand do not be careless because I want your true impression. Are you quite sure you understand what to do. Any questions? Go ahead."

THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL TEST WITH BORSTAL SUBJECTS

In practice it was necessary to give two or three minutes following "Any questions?" In addition the first page was spot-checked.

TABLE 1

Analysis of variance for the scores of non-offenders, non-recidivists and recidivists for the Evaluative factor in respect of the Central concepts

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F.
Between groups	8805.4	2	4402.7	16.6 *
Within groups	15120.3	57	265.3	
Total	23925.7	59		

* $P = .005$

TABLE 2

Mean scores for the Evaluative factor in respect of the five Central concepts for the three groups of subjects

Group	Group Means				
	HOME	MOTHER	FATHER	ME	BODY
Non-offender	33.2	32.9	31.3	26.1	27.3
Non-recidivist	31.6	32.8	30.8	26.6	27.8
Recidivist	23.3	28.6	22.7	20.8	23.8

TABLE 3

Analysis of variance for the scores of non-offenders, non-recidivists and recidivists for the Evaluative factor in respect of the Distress concepts

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F.
Between groups	2969	2	1485	4.98 *
Within groups	16975	57	298	
Total	19944	59		

* $P > .025 < .01$



TABLE 4

Mean scores for the Evaluative factor in respect of the seven Distress concepts for the three groups of subjects

Concept	Non-offender	Non-recidivist	Recidivist
Sex	30.3	25.2	22.1
Love	32.6	30.4	25.8
Hate	8.6	12.1	13.1
Punishment	24.0	22.5	20.2
Fear	18.5	17.5	16.2
Need	25.8	28.2	24.3
Running	26.2	23.6	27.0

TABLE 5

Analysis of variance for the scores of non-offenders, non-recidivists and recidivists for the Evaluative factor in respect of the Peripheral concepts

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F.
Between groups	3740	2	1870	4.36 *
Within groups	24436	57	428.7	
Total				

* $P > .025 < .01$

TABLE 6

Mean scores for the Evaluative factor in respect of the eight Peripheral concepts for the three groups of subjects

Concept	Non-offender	Non-recidivist	Recidivist
School	29.3	29.0	24.5
Other People	25.0	26.9	22.2
Work	27.0	26.8	24.5
Boy	20.2	22.7	19.2
Baby	28.3	27.7	27.6
Man	23.5	25.7	22.7
Girl	26.6	27.7	26.3
Woman	27.5	27.1	27.7

TABLE 7

Mean scores for the Potency and Activity factors in respect of the Central, Distress and Peripheral factors for the three groups of subjects

Concept Cluster	Factors					
	Potency			Activity		
	Group and Means			Group and Means		
	Non-offender	Non-recidivist	Recidivist	Non-offender	Non-recidivist	Recidivist
Central	53.7	57.7	53.2	29.7	32.1	33.8
Distress	70.7	73.8	71.6	43.6	47.6	47.4
Peripheral	101.0	98.0	104.4	54.0	55.6	59.1

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A STUDY OF DELINQUENTS WITH CHILDREN'S-HOME BACKGROUND*

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Abstract

A GROUP of fifty approved school boys who had all been separated from their parents and placed in the care of a local authority for over six months at some time in their life was compared on intelligence, educational and personality tests with a group of fifty approved school boys randomly selected and a group of approved school boys with stable home backgrounds. The only significant difference found was the higher incidence of enuresis in the children's home group. Various sub-groups within the children's home group were then compared in an effort to isolate more homogeneous groups which did differ on these tests. However no difference was found. It was concluded, after a review of the possible explanations of these results that they are to be attributed to the fact that the children's home group is still a heterogeneous group; and that, though under some conditions physical separation from parents may result in intellectual, educational and emotional disturbance, it does not under others. However, as yet these conditions have not been properly identified or isolated and it seems likely that they require a much more detailed and sophisticated study than has yet been done.

Introduction

At the end of his study of forty-four juvenile thieves Bowlby concluded that "there is a very strong case indeed for believing that prolonged separation of a child from its mother (or mother substitute) during the first five years of life stands foremost amongst the causes of delinquent character development." (Bowlby, 1946.) Two further points of great importance mentioned by Bowlby were "that there was a

* This study was carried out as a third-year project for the Psychology Course at Oxford University. My thanks are due to: Mr. M. Argyle, my tutor who supervised this project; Mr. J. S. Gittins, Principal of Aycliffe School, for his permission to carry out this study at Aycliffe and his advice on the execution of it; Mr. M. S. Hoghugh and Mr. A. R. Forrest, educational psychologists at Aycliffe School; Mrs. J. Clarke, Psycholinguistics Unit, Oxford; Miss M. Clarke, for coding the data; and Dr. N. Walker, Reader in Criminology, Oxford University, for advising me on the analysis of the data.

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high and statistically significant degree of overlap between the 'affectionless characters' and those with a history of separation, and that the affectionless children were far more delinquent than any of the others." (Bowlby, 1952.) Bowlby also quoted a study by Bender in support of the hypothesis "that there is a specific connection between prolonged deprivation in the early years and the development of an affectionless psychopathic character given to persistent delinquent conduct and extremely difficult to treat." (Bowlby, 1952; Bender, 1947; Bender and Yarnell, 1941.) Ainsworth (1962) has stressed the important point that Bowlby did not claim that early maternal deprivation was foremost amongst the causes of delinquency but rather of delinquent character formation (affectionless psychopathic character formation). Furthermore the pathogenic antecedent hypothesised to be the cause of the affectionless character "was not simply early prolonged separation, but separation either with deprivation of sufficient maternal care, or more frequently deprivation brought about by repeated shifts of mother-figures."

The experimental literature bearing on this hypothesis has been well reviewed by Wootton (1959) and Andry (1962). In particular the studies of Lewis (1954) and Naess (1959) may be noted. In her study of 500 children admitted to a reception centre Lewis found that separation of child from mother bore no statistically significant relation to the abnormality or otherwise of the child's mental state at the time of admission. Lasting separation before the age of two was, however, so correlated, though it was not significantly related to any particular pattern of disturbance. Parental rejection, on the other hand, was significantly related to "unsocialized aggression" and parental neglect to "socialized delinquency." Naess compared a group of forty-two delinquents (defined as "those with delinquent character development") and forty-two controls (non-delinquent brothers). She found a higher incidence of mother-separation in the non-delinquent group than in the delinquent. She concluded that in these cases mother separation could not be said to stand foremost among the causes of delinquent character development, and that "Bowlby's unreserved generalisation in regard to the problem of delinquency . . . is too wide." It should, however, be pointed out that Bowlby had himself previously partially retracted his earlier statement in the face of the evidence from a study of fifty-seven children who had been separated from their mothers while in a sanatorium for tuberculosis. (Bowlby, Ainsworth, Boston and Rosenbluth, 1956.) He there admitted that "statements

implying that children who experienced institutionalization and similar forms of severe privation and deprivation in early life *commonly* develop psychopathic or affectionless characters are incorrect."

The research reported in this paper was designed to test one prediction which might be made on the Bowlby hypothesis, namely that amongst a group of delinquents at roughly equal stages of their career those who had a history of separation from their parents and children's home experience would be found to be both more intellectually retarded and emotionally maladjusted than those from stable home backgrounds. That this might be found to be so is suggested by Bowlby's finding that there was an "overwhelmingly high incidence of separation" amongst those of his forty-four thieves who had affectionless characters and were both more delinquent and more difficult to treat. It is further suggested by the common belief of many people working with delinquents in a residential setting that those delinquents who are reared in institutions are often the most difficult and disturbed.

Methods

(a) Samples

The samples were collected at Aycliffe School, the classifying school for approved school boys in the North East. Every boy committed to an approved school in the North East spends about three weeks at Aycliffe, at the end of which time a report is produced on the basis of tests and observation, allocating him to a suitable approved school and giving both a diagnosis and recommendations for treatment. The boys are aged ten to sixteen years on committal and have on the average two or three previous court appearances. They are typical therefore only of the more persistent juvenile offenders and great caution must be used in generalising the results given by this study to other groups of young offenders.

(1) *Children's home sample.* This group was selected from 500 successive admissions to Aycliffe. Of these 500 boys seventy-one were found who had at some time in their life been in the care of a local authority (c. 14 per cent.). Of these thirteen had been in care for under six months, one had been in a Salvation Army hostel but it was not known for how long, and one was simply reported as having been in care, no further details being given. Of the remaining fifty-six the first six were omitted since at the time of their stay at Aycliffe certain of the tests used in this study had not been introduced. (Average age 14.9.)

(2) *Stable sample.* This group was made up of fifty boys who had as far as could be ascertained "stable" home backgrounds. The criteria for the stability of the home were that there should be no history of divorce, separation or death of parents, that the father should be in regular employment, that neither parent should suffer from bad health and that there was as far as was known little friction in the family. The relevant information was gathered from the classifying report and the reports of members of staff who had carried out home visits or interviewed the parents. It may well be that some of these homes are not as stable as has been thought by those who visited them and that there are tensions and frictions which were covered up before the intruding visitor. All that can be said is that these homes are *as far as is known* relatively stable. (Average age 14.8.)

(3) *Random sample.* This group was made up by taking for each boy in the children's home sample the next boy in order of admission who was of the same age. Since this group was selected before the stable group it contains one or two homes which otherwise would have qualified for the stable group. The only criterion of selection apart from age was the condition of never having been in care for however short a time. (Average age 14.8.)

(b) *Tests*

The main quantitative data on which this study is based were obtained from the results of the intelligence, educational and personality tests which are administered to each boy during his stay in the school. The intelligence and personality tests are administered by the school's two educational psychologists and the educational tests by two qualified educational testers.

(1) *Wechsler Intelligence Tests.* The WISC is administered to all boys up to the age of fifteen years, the WAIS to those who are sixteen and over. For the purposes of this study only the Full Scale and Verbal sub-scale scores were used. The latter is important in view of previous reports that it is verbal ability which is the most likely to be affected by separation from parents. (Bowlby, 1952; Burlingham and Freud, 1943; Goldfarb, 1943.)

(2) *Burt Test No. 1. Word recognition.* This was chosen owing to the reports as given above of specific verbal retardation.

(3) *Junior Maudsley personality inventory.* (Furieux and Gibson.) This test is being used at Aycliffe by permission of W. D. Furieux.

It is still in the experimental stage. It gives an Extraversion score (/22) and a Neuroticism score (/22).

(4) *Aycliffe revision of the children's manifest anxiety scale.* (Developed from the scale of Castaneda, McCandless and Palermo (1956)). This consists of seventy-five items of which eleven constitute a lie scale.

(c) *Other data*

As well as the tests mentioned above data on the following particulars were taken from the classifying report of each boy: age, number of previous offences (court appearances), nature of offence for which committed to approved school, enuretic or not, and any other details from the report of the clinical interview by the psychologist which seemed to be of relevance to this study, together with the psychiatric assessment where applicable. For the children's home group the following data were also obtained: age on admission to care, reason for admission, length of stay in care, number of moves while in care and names and addresses of foster homes if fostered, reason for moves where given and age on returning to own home. On the basis of these data the children's home group was further subdivided as given in the "Results" section.

Results

TABLE 1

Main results

		V.IQ.	T.IQ.	RA.	E.	N.	MAS.
CH./50.	M.	86.24	90.02	11.22	12.61	7.89	28.21
	SD.	9.96	10.61	2.35	2.21	3.06	10.88
S. /50	M.	90.28	94.20	11.62	11.54	7.90	28.19
	SD.	12.84	13.11	2.45	3.46	3.60	10.82
R. /50	M.	88.22	91.50	11.68	11.97	7.61	28.23
	SD.	12.22	13.85	2.25	2.17	3.30	9.14

TABLE 2

Incidence of Enuresis

	CH/50	S/50	R/50
En.	11	4	6

Difference between CH and S significant at .05 level (1 tailed test)

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TABLE 3

Sub-groups

	V.IQ.	T.IQ.	E.	N.	MAS.
E/L/M	M. 88.70	92.76	12.62	7.68	26.37
/17	SD. 12.29	12.58	2.34	3.01	10.97
L/S/F	M. 83.64	88.57	12.41	7.41	29.28
/14	SD. 7.99	9.70	2.56	2.46	12.12

Key to Tables

CH = Children's home.

R = Random.

S = Stable home.

E/L/M = Early admission, long stay, many moves.

L/S/F = Late admission, short stay, few moves.

V.IQ. = Verbal intelligence.

T.IQ. = Total intelligence, full scale.

RA. = Reading age.

E. = Extraversion.

N. = Neuroticism.

MAS. = Manifest anxiety.

En. = Enuresis.

Note. Owing to lack of space many of the quantitative results obtained in this study have been omitted. In none of these, however, were significant differences obtained. These results are, however, referred to and discussed in the following section.

None of the differences between the children's home (CH), stable (S) and random (R) groups on the intelligence, educational and personality tests reached an acceptable level of significance. (See Table 1.) Members of the CH group tended to score lower than members of the S group on verbal and total intelligence (full scale) and higher on extraversion but these differences are of doubtful significance. Since twenty-one analyses of variance (one way) were computed to test the significance of the differences in the scores of the three main groups a higher level than the five per cent. should be demanded because at least one result significant at that level would be expected by chance alone. However, the CH group had a significantly higher incidence of enuresis (see Table 2) than the S group.

In view of the fact that no significant differences were found on the six tests it was decided to test the homogeneity of the scores of

the CH group. This group was therefore divided successively into various sub-groups between which it seemed likely in view of earlier studies that there might be significant differences. For the purpose of this analysis reading age was omitted owing to varying age distributions. The differences between the scores of the following sub-groups were tested:

(a) Early/Late. Early = admitted to care under the age of five years. Late = admitted to care over the age of five years. The age of five was chosen in view of Bowlby's previous citing of this age as a critical one. (Bowlby, 1946, 1954.) No significant differences were found. If anything the Early group tended to score higher on verbal and total intelligence than members of the Late group.

(b) Long/Short. Long = over three years in care. Short = under three years in care. The figure of three years is suggested by Ainsworth as constituting prolonged and severe deprivation. (Ainsworth, 1962.) No significant differences were found.

(c) Many/Few. Many = moved over two times while in care. Few = moved less than twice while in care. Only moves to different addresses are counted. No check could be made on the number of changes of house-parents while the child remained at one address. No significant differences were found.

(d) Under Two/Over Two. Under Two = admitted to care under the age of two years. Over Two = admitted to care over the age of two years. The significance of the age of two is suggested by the results of Lewis's study. (Lewis, 1954.) No significant differences were found. If anything the Under two group tended to score less highly on neuroticism and manifest anxiety.

(e) Fostered/Not Fostered. Fostered = fostered while in the care of a local authority. Not Fostered = not fostered while in care. The importance of this variable lies in the possibility that the child may have a more adequate mother substitute if fostered than if not fostered. No significant differences were found. There was a tendency for the fostered group to score lower on neuroticism and manifest anxiety.

(f) E/L/M / L/S/F. E/L/M = early admission, long stay, and many moves while in care. L/S/F = late admission, short stay, and few moves. (For definitions see above.) It seemed of great interest to select out those children who had been admitted to care in their early years, stayed for a long time and been moved many times, and to compare them with those who had been admitted late, stayed a short

time and been moved only once or twice. If prolonged separation in the early years and continued change of substitute parents is as damaging to intellectual, educational and character development as Bowlby and others have suggested, then the E/L/M group would be expected to be more retarded and disturbed than the L/S/M group. However, no significant differences were found on the five tests. (See Table 3.) If anything the E/L/M group shows a tendency to greater verbal and total intelligence, and lower MAS. (Non-significant.) In view of the small numbers involved no weight can, however, be placed on these tendencies.

Note. This study follows a much larger one recently carried out by the Psychology Department of Aycliffe School. (Hoghughi and Forrest, 1965.) In this study the IQ scores of 450 approved school boys and educational attainments of 400 were ascertained. Finally the scores of 100 approved school boys on the JMPI and CMAS were compared with the scores of a group of 100 non-delinquent controls. It was found that the approved school boys were generally markedly retarded educationally but not significantly inferior in their intellectual functioning. Further they were not more extroverted, neurotic or anxious than the normal sample. It has not been possible to quote the quantitative results of this study here but the results summarised above should be taken into account when assessing the scores found in the present study which do not in general differ markedly from those found by Hoghughi and Forrest.

Discussion

The results of this study are almost all negative. The only result reaching a reasonable (*i.e.*, 5 per cent. or better) level of significance is that showing a higher incidence of enuresis in the CH group. This suggests that there are included in the CH group certain boys described by clinicians as highly insecure and disturbed. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the mean MAS score for the enuretics in the CH group is 36.33. It may be noted that the two highest scores on the MAS scale came from this group, *i.e.*, 56 for Subject 6 and 48 for Subject 5. Furthermore, seven of the CH enuretics were said in the psychological assessment in the allocation report to be anxious and insecure and five to have difficulty in forming emotional relationships. (Assessment on the basis of tests and full clinical interview.)

There remains to be explained the failure to find other significant

differences. This failure is particularly striking in the case of the comparison of the E/L/M and L/S/F groups. The average age of admission for the E/L/M group was two years six months, the average stay nine years nine months and average number of moves in that time 7.5. If any group would have been expected to show retardation and/or emotional disturbance it is this one. The following explanations may be offered for the negative results:

- (1) *The differences exist but the numbers obtained in this study are not sufficient to make these differences significant.*

This suggestion would apply particularly to the analyses made of the various sub-groups of the CH sample. However even if greater numbers had been obtained it is unlikely that the predictions made at the beginning of this study would have been confirmed. For the tendencies are by no means all in the same or in the predicted direction. The difference in intelligence scores of the CH and S groups, even if made significant by the use of greater numbers, might well be explicable in terms of the greater tendency of the members of the S group to come from residential areas and thus to have the advantage of better school and greater parental support in the educational field. Such a hypothesis could at least not be discounted. Though it would have been preferable to have had larger numbers it is not likely that the results of this study would have been much altered.

- (2) *The differences exist but the tests are too crude or unsuitable to show up these differences.*

This suggestion would apply better to the use of the personality tests than the use of the intelligence and reading tests since the latter are well tried and the best we have. Furthermore it was on just such tests that Goldfarb reported retardation as a result of maternal deprivation. (Goldfarb, 1943.)

It must be admitted that the use of self-rating questionnaires is a crude means of assessing personality and one which is also open to many well known biases and distortions. (Vernon, 1964.) It is also true that there are large batteries of personality tests which are more sensitive instruments than those which are used in this study. Ainsworth has criticised the use of questionnaires by Bowlby *et al.* (1956) and Stott (1956) rather than the "more intensive clinical methods of assessment used by Goldfarb" (1943). A similar criticism could be levelled at this study on the grounds that the methods of assessment used are too superficial to "yield reliable evaluation of the adequacy

of the processes of establishing and maintaining affectional ties." (Ainsworth, 1962.) Nonetheless some differences at least would have been expected to show up in the test results. It may be noted in support of this contention that, as shown above, the enuretics in the CH sample *do* show much greater scores on both neuroticism and manifest anxiety.

A more important criticism than that of the crudeness of the tests is that the tests are the wrong ones for showing up the predicted differences. This applies in particular to the extroversion score. However, if children's home experience did lead to the syndrome of "affectionless psychopathy" it might be predicted that these children would tend towards extroversion. (Eysenck, 1964.) The predictions in the case of the neuroticism and MAS scores are more clear. If it is suggested that separation from parents may cause emotional disturbance and insecurity then the CH group would have been expected to score highly on N and MAS. If, however, it is suggested that such deprivation leads to an affectionless and emotionally blunt character, then this group would have been expected to score less highly than the S group on N and MAS. The doubt as to which direction the CH group might tend to depends on the nature of the hypothesised disturbance. Whichever mode of reaction is expected the N and MAS scores ought to give evidence of it. As noted they fail to show any differences between the various groups and sub-groups tested.

(3) *The retardation and disturbance of those boys who had been in care is reversible and therefore does not appear in boys of approved school age.*

This would apply particularly to the intelligence scores, and might be supported by the work of O'Connor (1956) and Clarke and Clarke (1959). However Ainsworth (1962) suggests that the reversibility of the effects is a function of age of onset and age on relief of deprivation and that "prolonged and severe deprivation beginning in the first year of life and continuing for as long as three years usually leads to severely adverse effects on both intellectual and personality functioning that do resist reversal"; further that "prolonged and severe deprivation beginning in the second year of life leads to some grave effects on personality that do resist reversal, although the effects on general intelligence seem to be fairly completely reversible"; finally, that "certain impairments seem to be less readily and less completely reversible than others—impairment in language, in abstraction, and in the capacity for long and lasting interpersonal attachments." In

the light of such a statement based on a long and thorough review of the relevant literature it would be expected that at the very least the E/L/M group should show greater disturbance than the L/S/F group for whom the conditions for the reversibility of the effects are most favourable. Though it is not possible to rule out the suggestion that the failure to find significant differences in this study is the result of the reversibility of the effects, it would seem to be unlikely.

(4) *There are no such general differences as might have been predicted on a simple deprivation hypothesis.*

This suggestion provides the best explanation of the negative results. Further, there is some supporting evidence in its favour. A study of the clinical assessments of the boys made by the psychologists and included in the allocation reports shows that twenty-three boys out of the 150 were assessed as having difficulty in forming emotional relationships. Of these thirteen are in the CH group, four in the S group and six in the R group. Furthermore, of these thirteen in the CH group, nine are in the E/L/M group and none in the L/S/F group. Finally, the mean MAS score for these thirteen is 19.75, suggesting that the MAS scale is not wholly unsuitable in showing up differences where they exist. Nonetheless the mean MAS score of the E/L/M group as a whole is 26.37. This suggests that the reason for the failure to find significant differences between the main groups or sub-groups is due to the fact that these groups are still heterogeneous, such that no generalisations can be made about their members. It must be stressed, however, that the numbers involved in the above analysis are too small and the data on which it is based too weak to do more than give an indication of the reason for the negative results found in this study and to suggest one area in which future research might be carried out.

The evidence quoted above is supported by that derived from a more thorough investigation of the case histories of the members of the samples used in this study. Thus it can be seen that separation from one's parents at an early age is neither a sufficient nor necessary condition for the development of an affectionless and withdrawn character. As has been said, there are few such personalities in the R group who have suffered from neglect or parental rejection and there are even some in the S group, where as far as is known family relations are quite good. Furthermore, there are boys in the CH group who have been separated from their parents from an early age, for a

long time and with many changes of substitute parents who yet seem relatively stable and unharmed emotionally. Such evidence should make us cautious in generalising about any antecedents as being either necessary or sufficient for the development of an affectionless personality.

There is also evidence from the case histories showing that what appear to be similar backgrounds may lead in two different boys to totally different modes of reaction. Thus there are cases where the boys have been admitted early, for a long time and with many moves who are said in the clinical assessments to be "withdrawn," "flat and unresponsive," "defensive," "inadequate," "blunted emotionally," "institutionalised," "socially unskilled," to show "no emotional identification with anyone," "difficulty in forming emotional relationships," "no affection" and to have "no long-term goals," "no contacts," etc. (Remarks drawn from the clinical assessments of various boys in the CH group. It should not be thought that all these are made of any one boy. They typify rather an "ideal case" showing one possible mode of reaction.) On the other hand, there are also boys about whom it is said that they are "maladjusted," "insecure," "immature," showing a "poor tolerance of frustration." Thus there are boys who react to continual stress and let-down by so withdrawing into themselves that they do not allow themselves to form any deep emotional relationships with anyone so as to prevent further disappointment. This mode of reaction is well characterised by Stott in *Delinquency and Human Nature*. (Stott, 1950.) It is illustrated also by the remark of one boy in the CH sample who said that he never thought "about the future or the past, just the present; then I have nothing to look forward to." (Subject 8. Admitted four years five months; length of stay ten years eleven months; moved and fostered "many times," number unspecified.) It is no wonder that a boy who had been admitted at the age of six months, stayed in care for fifteen years six months, and been moved twenty-eight times was said to "show marked emotional immaturity," to have "no contacts" and to be "blunted emotionally." (Subject 39.) There are also boys who react by becoming anxious and insecure. (E.g., Subject 6. Admitted two years three months, length of stay six years three months, moved seven times. "Maladjusted." MAS 56. Enuretic.) There is no one set of conditions that reliably produces one or the other reaction. In a statistical study such as this, these opposing reactions cancel each

other out and the total results are negative. (See especially on the E/L/M group which contains examples of both types of reaction.)

Conclusion

The failure to find significant differences on intellectual, educational and personality tests between those boys with children's home background and those from stable homes or a group of boys randomly selected is probably due to the fact that the groups are still heterogeneous. Many variables have not been controlled. Thus no account has been taken of heredity, different standards of care in different children's homes, quality of schooling and number of visits to the boys while in children's home by their parents or relations. The importance of the latter in particular can be seen from the study of Pringle and Bossio (1960), in which the most maladjusted children were found to suffer from a greater degree of separation from their parents and relations. The present study brings out the importance of a much more detailed examination of individual cases than has yet been carried out and the controlling of many more variables than has yet been attempted. Only in this way will it be possible to elicit more accurately the exact conditions under which separation from parents leads to intellectual and emotional disturbance and to find out what conditions favour one mode of reaction rather than another. To do this it will be necessary to have much more detailed case histories than we at the moment possess, to use more sensitive batteries of personality assessment together with full clinical examination and finally to obtain much greater numbers so that more homogeneous sub-groups can be isolated than has been possible in this study. It can only be claimed for this study that it throws doubt on a crude generalisation in a crude way.

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A STUDY OF DELINQUENTS WITH CHILDREN'S-HOME BACKGROUND

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levels of policing required for ground cover. In Cardiff, Sheffield, Manchester and Newcastle, agricultural-type experiments on a Graeco-Latin Square design were conducted over twelve months during which time levels of policing on the experimental beats were varied from nought to four, whilst on control beats the level was kept constant. It is too early to give any clear idea of what the result of this experiment may be but we feel it may well prove very little. What it will probably show is that there is a time lag in the learning process of criminals and other offenders so that they do not observe the variation of levels of policing very quickly. It would be useful to discover just what this time lag amounts to and we shall hope to do further experiments to discover more about this.

Whilst doing research into levels of policing, we were examining the basic concept of ground cover by the police. We looked at current methods in this country and abroad and became aware that there were characteristics of policing that could be divided into two parts. First, there is the need to respond to incidents quickly and to enforce the law. Secondly, there is the need to preserve a good relationship with the community, to provide an efficient flow of criminal intelligence and to prevent crime. To achieve the first part it seemed necessary to evolve a scheme in urban areas which gave the police officer mobility and a rapid method of communication. To achieve the second part it was necessary to have police officers who were well-known to the local residents and who knew their areas exceptionally well. So the unit policing experiments were begun in Lancashire, Carlisle, Birmingham, Manchester and elsewhere. Early results of the experiment show a great improvement in police morale, and improvement in police/public relationship and a better flow of criminal intelligence. Crime in some of the areas has fallen, so have incidents of hooliganism and wilful damage. Response times to incidents have improved very much, and there has been a saving of manpower.

One factor which we introduced into the experiment was what we would term "conspicuity." We did this by having the beat cars painted in a light blue with a wide white stripe over them. We must by further research discover what part conspicuity plays in deterring offenders. We came across a similar sort of factor when examining an experiment in Liverpool where they had used task forces in plain clothes in a central area plus closed-circuit television to deal with a large amount of crime. The factor which had crept into this experiment, and made it impossible for us to evaluate properly the results, was publicity. We shall be seeking to have other experiments where publicity is excluded.

Another problem which is at present being given attention by members of the Branch is the collection of information generated by a criminal in the course of his activities. He creates information which can be collected in several stages: first when he is planning his crime, secondly when he is actually committing the offence, thirdly after the crime when he is disposing of property or getting rid of a weapon, and fourthly when, and if, he is foolish enough to boast about what he has done. In a recent examination of a large sample of breaking offences their difficulty of solution was classified. In 25 per cent. of the cases (including t.i.c.) the solution was a straightforward one; in 8 per

cent. of the cases the detection was difficult; in 7 per cent. of the cases there were some clues but no detection, and in 60 per cent. of the cases no progress at all had been made. It is these 7 per cent. and 60 per cent. figures which are of particular interest to us. What we are not sure about is whether no information was actually available or whether the process of collecting available information was not as efficient as it might be. In order to try to optimise the collection of information at the scene of a crime a pilot experiment has been carried out using highly qualified personnel with sophisticated methods and equipment to search at scenes of breakings. As a result of this pre-pilot experiment, we now propose to carry out further research.

One of the scientists in the Branch has been doing research into the decay of value of information from the rural area up to the most densely populated area. This may very well lead to a new measure of the efficiency of a particular force judged on the percentage detections. Police in London may in fact be doing very well against a background of high information value decay.

We have forty items on our research programme at the moment and some of the work is being carried out for us on an extra-mural basis. A particular item of extra-mural research is that which deals with a search for new methods of describing fingerprints and the possibility of putting onto a computer the single fingerprint. Here we have contracts with a number of computer companies and with A.W.R.E. It is comparatively easy to code and put on a computer a collection of fingerprints. What is not so easy—it is, in fact, extremely difficult, is to be able to feed into a computer a fingerprint or part of a fingerprint found at a scene of crime for comparison purposes. It must be remembered that there are many millions of single fingerprints at present stored at Scotland Yard. To sort these out manually is an impossible task unless you employ a very large number of people on the job. Present research looks hopeful.

The National Physical Laboratory are interested in the use of a computer to store sophisticated crime intelligence. Experiments in the field have shown that with the Unit Beat Policing method the flow of intelligence into the centre has been very considerable. If such intelligence is going to be used properly, then it has to be collated and, we think, stored in a computer so that it can be retrieved at the proper levels, either locally, regionally or nationally.

Lancaster University is engaged on a project designed to give us more information as to what a police officer does. Manpower surveys have shown that more than 50 per cent. of a patrol officer's time is spent in a non-incident period when nothing recordable occurs. There is much to be done in this field of research before we can evaluate the "deterrence" factor in a policeman's presence and before we can begin to understand properly the individual police officer's selection of a situation to deal with from the hundreds he meets with every day on the beat.

Research is also going on into the causes of wastage. Although preventable wastage in the police is comparatively low (2.4 per cent.) compared with higher percentages for similar occupations, it is still a serious matter especially because we appear to be losing a great many more men than we should be in the early

years of their service. We are also looking into the possibility of having aptitude tests for entrants to the service. Pilot experiments have been conducted to ascertain the causes of wastage and we have now launched a full-scale research experiment based on the results of our pilot study.

If the collection of criminal intelligence is important, it is just as important to turn this intelligence into intelligible information for police officers to act upon. We call the project which is now being started to study this aspect "briefing." There appear to be two sides to this. One is the selection of material and the second is the method by which the material is put over to police officers. It looks an easy problem but we are finding in fact that it is a very difficult one.

At the same time as operational research is going on we are having field trials of equipment. Equipment for the police can range from the simple sort of garment that you can give to a police officer to make him more distinguishable when attending an accident in the dark, up to helicopters. Many of these pieces of equipment have to be measured in terms of cost-effectiveness. New methods of man-power deployment often require sophisticated equipment and we are charged with seeing that every possibility of providing such equipment is explored.

The Branch benefits very much from there being in it a mixture of scientists and senior police officers who work side by side on projects. It also is strengthened by a theoretical group charged with mathematical model making, which amongst other things examines the problems facing the police service and suggests new approaches to them. Universities and research groups in industry and in the government service are showing increasing interest in the work of the Branch and are undertaking projects for us. There is much to be done and the indications are that a radical change in attitude to the problems of law enforcement is taking place.

III. TWO CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

(1) OPERATIONAL RESEARCH IN A BORSTAL INSTITUTION

A. E. BOTTOMS AND F. H. McCLINTOCK *

THIS piece of research is an operational research project carried out under the auspices of the Institute of Criminology with financial support and facilities provided by the Home Office. It is based on the closest possible collaboration between research staff and the staff of the institution which is the subject of study.

From the outset of the project, both research and senior training staff agreed that there was a need, in the light of changing social conditions and the falling success-rates of Borstals, to look closely at each aspect of training

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as traditionally conceived, and to make such modifications as seemed likely to increase the effectiveness of training. The modifications which were made involved, principally, a much more individualised approach—background histories were studied with more care, individual “training plans” were drawn up, and a much greater amount of discussion with the inmate about problems relevant to criminality took place. These changes involved extensive participation by Borstal officers throughout the institution, as well as senior staff. Important organisational changes were made at the institution, which reflected and helped to preserve the greater emphasis on training, while not neglecting the need for effective administration and custodial control.

Research staff played an active role in pioneering many of these new developments, and were always consulted when major institutional decisions relating to training were being considered. It is believed that this kind of collaboration between staff of a university department and a penal institution is so far unique in Britain.

The research programme is designed to make as full an evaluation as possible of the “modified régime” which was developed at the institution. The main focus of attention will be on some 300 inmates who were received into the institution between January 1965 and March 1966, and who were ultimately discharged from the same institution. This assessment will endeavour to link closely data on background characteristics of the offender, data on the training problems perceived by the institutional staff, his experience and response in the institutional setting, and data on his social and criminal behaviour in the after-care period; and it is therefore hoped to be able to indicate something of the differential response of different types of inmates to the types of training offered with this more individualised approach.

An important part of the study is a comparison of the results of the “modified régime” with those of the more traditional borstal system. For this purpose a control group has been taken consisting of some 650 inmates who were discharged from the same institution in the years 1960, 1961 and 1962.

The basic comparison between the traditional and modified régime will make use of data common to both populations, *i.e.*, police, borstal, and after-care records. For the fuller study of the detailed operation of the modified régime, as well as the much greater amount of data available due to greater staff involvement with the inmates, periodic review of training, etc., the following special information has been collected:

1. a Social Attitude Test;
2. a pre-discharge interview with a research worker;
3. a discharge assessment form completed by staff;
4. an after-care questionnaire which is being completed by probation officers one year after discharge.

In addition, the results of a Personality Inventory (Cattell 16PF), administered by the Home Office Psychological Section on our sample of inmates have kindly been made available to us.

The close involvement of the research workers in the life of the institution over the last three-and-a-half years will also be utilised in a discussion of the

sociology of an institution under change, and of some of the organisational and administrative aspects of endeavouring to give greater prominence to training within the total institutional context. Some account will also be given of changing staff attitudes. This part of the report will rely upon informal discussion and observation by research workers throughout the period under study, but including also some structured periods of observation in each of the years 1963, 1964 and 1965. These structured periods of observation were mainly based on selected houses.

The field-work at the institution is now complete. Making allowance for time for the research workers to analyse the data, and for a reasonable follow-up period after inmates have been discharged, it is expected that the report on this project will be completed in 1969.

(2) THE CRAWLEY JUVENILE RESEARCH PROJECT

JOY MOTT *

THE initiative for this study came from the Chairman of the Crawley Juvenile Bench, who was concerned, "first, to investigate the causes of delinquency in the cases that appeared before the Crawley Juvenile Court, and secondly, to assess the long-term results of the Court's decisions as shown by the subsequent progress of the children." The Juvenile Bench was also interested in carrying out a study of the sentencing process.

In order to attempt to answer these questions a longitudinal comparative study was planned with the following aims:

- (i) to compare the educational and social characteristics of samples of juvenile offenders in Crawley with a control sample of non-delinquent Crawley children, and
- (ii) to follow up the samples of children in terms of further offences, social and educational adjustment and employment history until the end of the juvenile period, that is, until the children reached age seventeen.

The collection of the samples began in October 1965 and will be completed by December 1967. It consists of the following groups of children who live and attend schools in Crawley:

(a) *Delinquent groups*

- (i) The children who appear before the Crawley Juvenile Court for offences (other than minor traffic and some other trivial offences), or who are brought before the Court as being in need of care, protection or control, or for failure to attend school regularly; and
- (ii) the children who are cautioned by the police, and any other children who come to the attention of the Crawley police but who by reason of their age or other circumstances are not cautioned or brought before the Juvenile Court.

* Home Office Research Unit.

(b) *Control group*

A matched control child is selected for each child attending school in both delinquent groups. The matching criteria are age, sex and school attended.

It is the practice of the Crawley Juvenile Court to require pre-trial probation and school reports for the majority of cases, so that a considerable amount of social information is available for children appearing before the Court. The police also collect some social information on children who are cautioned. Thus the machinery already existed for the collection of social and educational information about the delinquent children and, as the local agencies were willing to take part in a research project, the study was planned as a co-operative venture between social workers, the police, the schools and the Home Office Research Unit.

The West Sussex County Council officials—the Clerk to the County Council, the Director of Education, the Chief Constable, the Principal Probation Officer, the Children's Officer and the Medical Officer of Health—agreed that their local staff could make the results of their social inquiries available for the research project. Two other agencies, the New Towns Commission and the Urban Council Housing Committee, also agreed to provide information from their records on both the delinquent and control samples of children. Thus, the co-operating agencies are providing for the research project information which they collect for their own purposes and no special additional inquiries are being made. It was readily agreed that this material would be provided in a systematic way on pre-coded forms.

The schools, both primary and secondary, are providing a major proportion of the information available on both the delinquent and control samples of children. The data collection form devised for the National Survey of the Health and Development of Children (by kind permission of the Director of the Survey) has been used as the basis of the Crawley form. One of the many advantages of using this particular form is that it contains a scale for the assessment of signs of maladjustment. The results of the present study should augment existing evidence on the relationship between such signs and delinquent behaviour.

The follow-up study

The offence histories of the children in the two samples will be collected through the Crawley Juvenile Court records and Home Office records.

The schools, again, will provide a considerable proportion of the social information for this part of the project. Depending upon the age of the child on entry to one or other of the samples, the educational form will be completed again shortly before the child leaves school or turns fifteen. If the child enters the sample while still attending a primary school, the form will also be completed after he or she has spent a year at the secondary school.

The Crawley Youth Employment Officer will provide, as far as he can, information on the employment histories of the children until they reach the age of seventeen.

The study of the sentencing process in the Juvenile Court

Sentencing is seen as a series of interim decisions by the magistrates based upon the information available to them at different stages in the Court proceedings. The regular provision of pre-trial probation and school reports and the procedure in the Crawley Juvenile Court make it possible to differentiate between three stages in the sentencing process:

Stage 1. Proceedings in open Court

The information available to the magistrates at this stage consists of the police evidence, the child's admission to the Court; the general impression made by the child and his or her parents, and their responses to questions from the Bench; any oral evidence from representatives of the social agencies involved with the case. Each magistrate records on a checklist his own assessment of the child and the parents' attitude to the hearing and notes a provisional disposal based upon the information available to him at this stage.

Stage 2. The Bench in retirement

The Bench retires after the proceedings in Court to consider the reports available on the case. After each magistrate has read the reports, he records on a checklist which of the reports has particularly influenced his assessment of the case; what he considers to be the significant background factors; the main aims any disposal would serve and how these aims would be achieved. For example, if it were considered that the aim of the disposal were reform or rehabilitation, this might be achieved by the provision of psychiatric treatment and/or education and training. (At this stage the interim decision may be to remand the case for further inquiries. In this event the procedure is repeated at the second hearing.)

Stage 3. The Bench in retirement—discussion amongst the magistrates

After each magistrate has made his individual assessment of the case, group discussion follows and an agreed disposal is arrived at. The magistrates then indicate on their checklist whether their opinions of the aims of the disposal and the methods of achieving them have changed as a result of the discussion. Finally, each magistrate is asked to indicate if he would wish to suggest some other form of disposal, not necessarily within his present judicial powers, for the case.

It is appropriate to conclude this brief description of the project with a comment from the Chairman of the Crawley Juvenile Bench, Mrs. Mary Rosser: "What is most encouraging about this project is the enormous interest and co-operation it is receiving from all those whose help is essential to its success, indicating a community's co-operative effort to investigate on its own initiative an intractable problem. Perhaps the unique aspect is the part being played by the Juvenile Court justices in their willingness to examine their own sentencing decisions, decisions which in some cases might affect a child's whole life."

VASCULAR CHANGE UNDER STRESS IN DELINQUENTS AND CONTROLS

A. L. LAYCOCK *

THE role of anxiety in the personality functioning of delinquent and neurotic subjects has been well discussed in the literature (see brief review in Tong and Murphy, 1960). These authors suggest that much delinquent, and particularly psychopathic, behaviour is to be understood as a response to deep-rooted anxiety, and they stress the important part played by avoidance mechanisms in this response, in much the same way as do recent writers on neurotic symptomatology from the standpoint of learning theory (Metzner, 1961; Gwynne Jones, 1965).

Avoidant and self-protective defences have of course long been recognised as a means of dealing with anxiety. Many studies have been conducted into the use of such mechanisms when central personality needs have been threatened, such as the need for self-esteem, the need for approval and the need for achievement (Hovland and Janis, 1959; Crowne and Marlowe, 1964; Atkinson, 1964). Inevitably when such mechanisms prove effective in reducing or eliminating anxiety they will be reinforced and may even become behavioural modes themselves, built into the personality structure.

A tentative working hypothesis might be that delinquents, with their typical background of emotional dependency, personal inadequacy or insecurity generally, would be more prone to invoke avoidant defences than normal subjects. It was thought likely that some confirmation of this hypothesis might be obtained by comparing the autonomic reactions of a group of delinquents with those of a control group in the course of a prolonged frustration test in laboratory conditions. If avoidant defences are indeed "behavioural modes" for delinquents rather than for controls, the expectation would be that the pattern of autonomic reactivity in the delinquent group would be marked by a more precipitate decline than in the control group, reflecting a swifter and more immediate reduction in tension, or by a virtual absence of change, reflecting the successful averting of physiological arousal altogether.

Method

As part of a study with somewhat wider objectives, tests were administered to eighty-three delinquent boys aged fourteen to seventeen years just prior to committal to approved schools and also to a control group of eighty boys of the same age-range selected from the lists of city general practitioners. Two criteria were used in selecting the controls: (1) that to the best of the doctors' knowledge the boys had not appeared before the courts and had not been referred to a child guidance clinic; (2) that the boys should be resident in central city areas or in housing estates which were predominantly working-class.

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RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

Included in the battery was a mirror-tracing test. The subject was seated in front of a mirror in which he could see the image of a star-pattern on the table before him. A shield was interposed between his eyes and the pattern itself. The task was to trace with a pencil round as many sides of the star as possible in two minutes. Three attempts were allowed, and on the second and third he was urged to "beat his own record." Systolic blood pressure readings were taken, using a standard sphygmomanometer, at the beginning of the test and after each attempt. The first attempt was considered a trial run. Scoring was based on the last three readings, to give (a) change registered during second attempt; (b) change registered during third attempt; (c) overall change during second and third attempts. Direction and magnitude of overall change were noted in each case.

Systolic BP was also taken before the test which preceded the mirror-tracing test. This was a questionnaire, and it would be expected that the degree of ego-involvement occasioned by this test would be somewhat less than that occasioned by the frustrations of the mirror-tracing. Direction and magnitude of systolic change during this test were also noted for each subject.

Findings

There were no instances in either delinquents or controls where Systolic BP remained unchanged at each of the three readings during mirror-tracing. In the few cases where overall change (*i.e.*, after the trial run) was extremely small, it was necessary to consult data from the trial run in order to decide whether they represented genuine tendencies to rise or to fall as suggested by the three final readings.

Means and standard deviations of overall change were as follows:

TABLE 1
Systolic BP

	Overall Increase		Overall Decrease	
	Delinquents (n = 28)	Controls (n = 41)	Delinquents (n = 55)	Controls (n = 39)
Range of change (mm.Hg.)	22	15	14	24
Mean	7.21	5.93	5.95	5.64
SD	4.80	3.62	3.64	4.75

The distributions of overall change in the two groups of subjects appeared to be approximately bimodal, reflecting tendencies for blood pressure either to increase or to decrease. A comparison of the distributions of the increases and decreases respectively indicated no significant differences. However, a comparison for direction of change alone, irrespective of magnitude, yielded the following contingency table:

TABLE 2

	Overall increase	Overall decrease	N
Delinquents	28	55	83
Controls	41	39	80

$$X^2 = 4.42; df = 1; p < 0.05$$

CURRENT SURVEY

Thus there was a significant tendency for delinquents, as compared with controls, to display declining reactivity on this autonomic channel when undergoing stress.

In order to make a comparison of the distributions of change with special reference to the *extremes* of increase and decrease, it was thought reasonable to trichotomise each distribution by taking as cutting-points certain values of systolic change between which changes recorded might be attributed to error or at least to factors non-specific to the mirror-tracing situation. Arbitrary limits were therefore fixed at the respective means of the increases and decreases observed during the completion of the questionnaire. These were, for the delinquents + 6.51 and - 5.51 mm.Hg., and for the controls + 5.80 and - 4.82 mm.Hg., respectively.

The following contingency table resulted:

TABLE 3				
Systolic BP				
Comparison of Extremes of Reactivity in Mirror-tracing Test				
	Increases above pre- determined limiting value	Change falling between limit- ing values	Decreases below pre- determined limiting value	N
Delinquents	13	37	33	83
Controls	22	37	21	80
$\chi^2 = 4.98; df = 2; p < 0.05$, for a one-tailed test				

Thus the tendency for delinquents, as compared with controls, to "under-react" to the mirror-tracing situation was substantially confirmed, and it could reasonably be regarded as a response specific to this type of stress, in line with prediction.

Discussion

It is appreciated that preliminary findings of this kind have minimal value in themselves. They are reported here with a view to discussing the merits of the proposed interpretation in terms of defensive responses and in order to examine the theoretical background against which further findings should be set.

Technical objections to taking Systolic BP readings as the sole measure of stress reactivity are readily conceded. It is true that changes in innervated autonomic channels are apt to be idiosyncratic and do not follow precisely corresponding patterns in the different channels (Lacey and VanLehn, 1952; Lacey *et al.*, 1953). Again, varying "base-line slope" is known to affect the measurement of raw data (Glickstein, 1960). And, again, autonomic changes cannot strictly be compared without some adjustment which takes into account individual differences both in stress level and in the base level (Lacey *et al.*, 1953).

Nonetheless it is maintained that these results are not to be lightly dismissed, particularly as the above objections mainly concern magnitude of change rather than direction of change. How is the principal finding to be explained?

Berlyne (1960) distinguishes orienting, adaptive and defensive reactions to repeated stimulation. It is possible to account for falling autonomic reactivity simply in terms of homeostatic adaptation. But then what is one to make of the trend towards rising reactivity in the control group? Doubtless this represents a prolonged arousal response. But if so why not in the delinquent group also?

A series of investigations by Hokanson and his colleagues (culminating in Hokanson and Edelman, 1966) into the vascular processes accompanying a number of different social responses to stress has shown experimentally that the return to pre-frustration level of Systolic BP after arousal may be significantly accelerated in certain conditions and not in others. The favourable conditions would seem to include in general some opportunity of directing physical or verbal aggression against the frustrator, at least when he is thought by the subject to be of equal or lower status. But it also seems to be the case, when the frustrator is of higher status, that "evocation of withdrawal responses" (Hokanson and Shetler, 1961) or "fantasy aggression" (Helen E. Mershon, quoted in Hokanson and Edelman, 1966) would account for the reduced reactivity observed.

Considerable weight is lent by such studies to the general conclusion, supported by Hokanson, that in situations of stress responses are made which, in the past experience of the subject, have been rewarding—i.e., effective in reducing tension, in the long term at least. Defensive or other "escape" activity may serve this purpose when it is deemed inappropriate to use direct aggression (or some form of positive problem-solving activity, the *immediate* effect of which is likely to be physiological arousal—cf., Blatt, 1961). It may reasonably be assumed that delinquents are under pressure to reduce tension by the quickest possible means since, with their general background of social or family disturbance, they probably live closer to their limits of stress-tolerance than does the normal population (cf. the work of Schachter and Latané (1964) on sociopaths).

The resort to avoidance behaviour is perhaps best understood within the context of achievement motivation and failure motivation, as explored by McClelland *et al.* (1953) initially. In the recent formulation by Atkinson (1964), a motive (M_s) to seek success in performing a task may co-exist with a motive *not to perform the task* because of a subjective expectation of failure. In other words this latter motive, a motive to avoid failure (M_{Δ}), may operate by causing inhibition of the tendency to succeed. This would account for the inimical effect of "anxiety about failure" on the performance of any ego-involved task. Such an inhibitory tendency is not regarded as in itself an avoidant action. It is assumed that an avoidant action is one which is initially weak in the hierarchy of activated tendencies but which becomes dominant because the competing excitatory tendencies are weakened by inhibition. In this way presumably any "task-irrelevant" action—including perhaps repression, denial, projection, etc.—may function as an avoidance mechanism.

Whether or not the initial inhibitory tendency is conceived as tension-reducing and so after all as an avoidant defence in its own right, this model

of Atkinson's is extraordinarily suggestive and may provide the key to understanding the delinquents' apparently defensive response to frustration. It is known that most delinquents have been brought up in unsatisfactory social conditions, with failure in various forms dogging their footsteps right through life, so it is all too likely that their expectancy of success in most enterprises will be very low. They are people in fact whose motivation probably incorporates far more of M_{Δ} than of M_s .

Other motives such as the need for approval may well play an equal part in the defensive behaviour of delinquents. Crowne and Marlowe (1964, Chapter 9) give experimental evidence for holding that in a frustration situation "the pattern displayed by high-need-for-approval persons involves the imposition of repression or reaction-formation, defences which serve to block awareness of the verbal and symbolic cues of anger."

It is clear that there are many alternative sources of tension in frustration situations, but in each case the conflict involved might be thought one to which the delinquent is specially prone—aggression and anxiety about aggression, success and anxiety about success, approval and anxiety about approval, etc.

It becomes increasingly difficult to resist the view that in the present research the delinquent group was characterised by avoidance behaviour of some kind. The investigation is continuing so as to include a follow-up of the boys during their approved school careers and a further programme of testing. It is hoped shortly to present a further report with data relating to the above discussion.

Summary

Eighty-three delinquent boys and eighty controls were tested in laboratory conditions. In a mirror-tracing test the delinquents were found to be differentiated from the controls by a tendency to "under-react" emotionally, as reflected by the magnitude of the changes recorded in systolic blood pressure level. That is to say, there was a significant tendency for a decrement of Systolic BP to occur in the case of delinquents, whereas it was an increment in the case of controls. These findings are discussed in terms of delinquents under stress resorting predominantly to "defensive" reactions, with particular reference to such deep-rooted personality needs as the need to succeed, the need to avoid failure, the need for approval, etc.

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MORAL JUDGMENT OF LOWER-CLASS DELINQUENTS

Y. ESHEL, S. KUGELMASS AND S. BREZNITZ *

It has become clear that delinquency is a complex phenomenon defying simple analysis and treatment. One aspect worthy of further attention is the cognitive development of delinquent youth. This would seem of particular importance in connection with the formulation of values related to their problematic behaviour.

Several investigators have noted poorer performance by delinquents in

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intelligence tests with particular deficit in the verbal sections. (Wechsler, 1944; Glueck and Glueck, 1950). A similar observation was made by Rappaport (1945) on the basis of the Rorschach Test. On the other hand, a recent review by Prentice and Kelley (1963) argues that no essential difference in general or verbal intelligence has been demonstrated between institutionalised delinquents and their controls. Other research focused more directly on the cognitive structure underlying values has centred on moral judgment. While Kohlberg (1958) suggested that delinquents operate at a lower stage of development in moral judgment, Johnson (1959) could find no significant difference between delinquents and their normal control group.

It seems possible that some of the apparent inconsistency may be due to comparing studies which differ in the social class of the subjects tested, as well as different criteria of performance. The present study is an attempt to provide additional relevant data on this controversial issue, with particular attention focused on lower-class institutionalised delinquents.

Method

Subjects

A sample of sixty-eight institutionalised delinquent boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen was obtained from three institutions ($\bar{X}_{age} = 14.3$). The normal group used for comparison (total samples) included 819 boys and girls of the same ages used as subjects in the Kugelmass, Breznitz, and Breznitz (1965) study ($\bar{X}_{age} = 13.7$). A sub-group of this control sample was selected for additional comparison which included ninety-eight boys (lower-class sample, $\bar{X}_{age} = 13.3$). The lower-class sample was taken from two schools in an underprivileged section of Tel Aviv. The data available to us indicate that both the delinquent and the lower-class sample could best be described as children of low income homes whose parents are generally immigrants from Oriental countries who have had a mean of about five years formal education.

Measures

Following is a detailed description of the questionnaire¹ and the definition of the "mature response" for each of its parts:

Part A. In order to test for the use of intentionality as a criterion, the subject was confronted with twelve variations of a transgression which were constructed so as to differ systematically in intentionality and results (all possible combinations of three different levels of intentionality—planning, lack of caution, insanity; and four levels of results—death, wound, possible hurt, nothing). The subject was required to judge the degree of blame to be assigned to the person performing each of these twelve acts on a four-point scale of blame.

Mature response. A response to part A was defined as mature if throughout the twelve items S never gave higher weight to results than to intentions.

Part B. In part B the S is required to rank all the twelve acts of part A in order of blame. Whereas in part A the different intentions may be given the

¹ The full English translation of the questionnaire has been deposited with the American Documentation Institute.

same blame score, in part B the S has to discriminate between all the acts so as to rank them with preference to the principle of intentionality.

Mature response. Perfect ranking of the items according to the intentions of the actors was defined as the mature response to part B.

Part C. The S is presented with the following statement: "One person hurt another person. If you have to judge the actor, what would be the most important question to ask?" The responses are then actually categorised according to whether the intentions are mentioned or not.

Mature response. A response to part C was defined as mature if the most important question to ask about the incident is whether the person *intended* to hurt the second person.

Part D. The S is once again asked to react to the statement previously presented in part C. This time, however, his task is to choose the two most important questions to ask in their order of importance in order to judge the actor. Since this choice was to be made from a given list of nine alternatives this merely required the ability to recognise the intentionality response. This is in contrast to part C where spontaneous recall was required.

Mature response. As in part C, based upon the S's first choice.

Part E. Whereas in parts C and D it was sufficient for the S to label the principle by using the proper words, in this part the S has to show that he can use the principle in a refined manner and explain exactly what he is doing. Part E consists of two items, E₁ and E₂ of the following structure: An act is given, and four justifications for it are presented. Only one of the justifications relates to the intentionality of the actor. The Ss have to locate this justification which is exceptional and to explain what it is that makes it exceptional.

Mature response. A response to part E was defined as mature if the S checks the proper justification and verbalises comprehensively the principle of intentionality in his explanation.

Vocabulary: Twenty-five words are given, with five possible synonyms, and the subject has to check the proper synonym. The number of proper words checked is the subject's score on the vocabulary test.

Piaget's stories: Two stories used originally by Piaget in his studies on moral judgment are presented. The subjects are required to compare two boys (girls) as to their naughtiness, and explain their choice. We tried to follow Piaget in his analysis of these responses as much as possible.

Correct response: If the subject chooses the boy (girl) according to motives and not according to material results, this was defined (according to Piaget) as "correct response" to the item.

Results

An analysis of the performance of the three groups on all subsections of the moral judgment questionnaire as well as the vocabulary section was carried out using the median test. The total sample's performance was significantly more mature than both of the lower-class samples on every comparison made at least at the .05 level. There was an overall trend toward more mature performance in the lower-class normals as compared with the delinquents, but this difference only reached statistical significance in the vocabulary scores. ($X^2 = 19.64$ $p < .001$.)

Since only a weak trend was found in the least demanding subsection of the questionnaire, it was concluded that the elicitation of possible differences between the lower-class samples might be uncovered through the use of even less demanding criteria. Both lower-class samples performed very poorly on the intentionality dimension which might have been expected to develop continuously during adolescence. (Kugelmass, Breznitz and Breznitz, 1965; Breznitz and Kugelmass, 1967.) Since the preferred use of results as the more influential principle has been found to be the predominant approach of younger children (Piaget, 1932; Lerner, 1937), it was decided to test for the relative strength of this preference (moral realism). Such an analysis of the preference for results could be carried out on parts C and D of the questionnaire as well as in the two Piaget stories. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 1. There is greater preference for the use of results as the governing criterion in moral judgment in the delinquent group in all four indices examined. This difference is found to be statistically significant in part D of the questionnaire and in the Cups story.

TABLE 1

Differences in moral realism, between the delinquent and the lower-class samples (Median test)

	X^2	P
Part C	2.19	N.S.
Part D	8.82	<.01
Cups story	6.69	<.01
Scissors story	0.08	N.S.

Given the differences in both moral judgment measures and vocabulary scores, it appeared of interest to check for any possible correlations between them. No significant correlation between vocabulary and any subsection index of the moral judgment questionnaire was found using a median test.

Discussion

The results support previous findings of strong class differences in both measures of verbal intelligence (vocabulary) and moral judgment (Boehm, 1962; Lerner, 1937). It would thus appear to be necessary to consider these differences in any evaluation of the moral judgment of delinquents. This suggests the possibility of clear class differences in the performance of delinquents which

- may explain the difference between the findings of Kohlberg (1958) and Johnson (1959). The present study included an attempt to minimise the class variable by an analysis restricted to lower-class subjects. The results of this analysis suggest that while there is a strong tendency toward immaturity in moral judgment throughout the lower-class sample, the delinquent sub-group seems to be significantly less mature than the others. Not only do the lower-class normals show very crude handling of the principle of intentionality, but many of the delinquents appear to be at the still lower stage of moral realism. It may be of interest to note that Piaget (1932) found no responses indicating moral realism after ten years of age in his sample, whereas the present delinquent group (ages twelve to sixteen) showed a substantial amount of these responses.

An additional point in connection with the performance of the delinquents was their apparent inability to utilise additional relevant information. In part D where both intentionality and result alternatives were actually presented the frequency of results responses was significantly higher than in part C which required spontaneous recall. ($X^2 = 5.24$ $p < .05$.) This suggests that the presence of the less mature alternative may serve as a potential distractor. A similar mechanism of distraction may be involved in the poorer vocabulary performance of the delinquents since the vocabulary test also requires choosing the correct answer from a given number of alternatives. This suggestion might be related to the findings of Rappaport (1945).

Although it is difficult to determine the basis for the finding of immature moral judgment in delinquents, it would appear to be a central feature of their problem. While there is obviously a great deal of difference between theoretical moral judgment and actual moral behaviour, the lack of mature judgment may be an obstacle in any rehabilitation programme.

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GIANNELL'S CRIMINOSYNTHESIS THEORY AS AN INTERVIEWING SCHEDULE FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF CRIMINALITY

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The Problem

THE purpose of this paper is to describe the application of Giannell's criminosynthesis theory in interviewing situations concerned with the assessment of criminality. This application may be pertinent to evaluations connected with pre-sentencing investigations, with probation or parole proceedings, with routine prison classifications, and with rehabilitation programmes.

The use of criminosynthesis theory as an interviewing guide can take the place of unguided types of interviews, and of more indirect and time-consuming psychological tests. As compared with these techniques and instruments, criminosynthesis has the advantage of dealing specifically and directly with the factors which are believed to be responsible for crime causation. Experimental evidence related to these factors has been reported in two previous papers (Giannell, 1966a & b).

This theory is genuinely indigenous to criminology and not borrowed from other fields like many other crime causation theories. As such, it is specifically designed to explain and predict criminal behaviour, speaks directly the language of the criminal, and can yield rapidly and effectively the type of evaluation which is of real and practical value to the judge, the attorney, the parole board, the prison administrator, the probation officer, and the police. These officials, it may be agreed, are likely not to be interested nor to be really helped by a report containing an evaluation expressed, as it often occurs, in abstruse terms only remotely and vaguely related to criminal personality functioning and to actual criminal behaviour.

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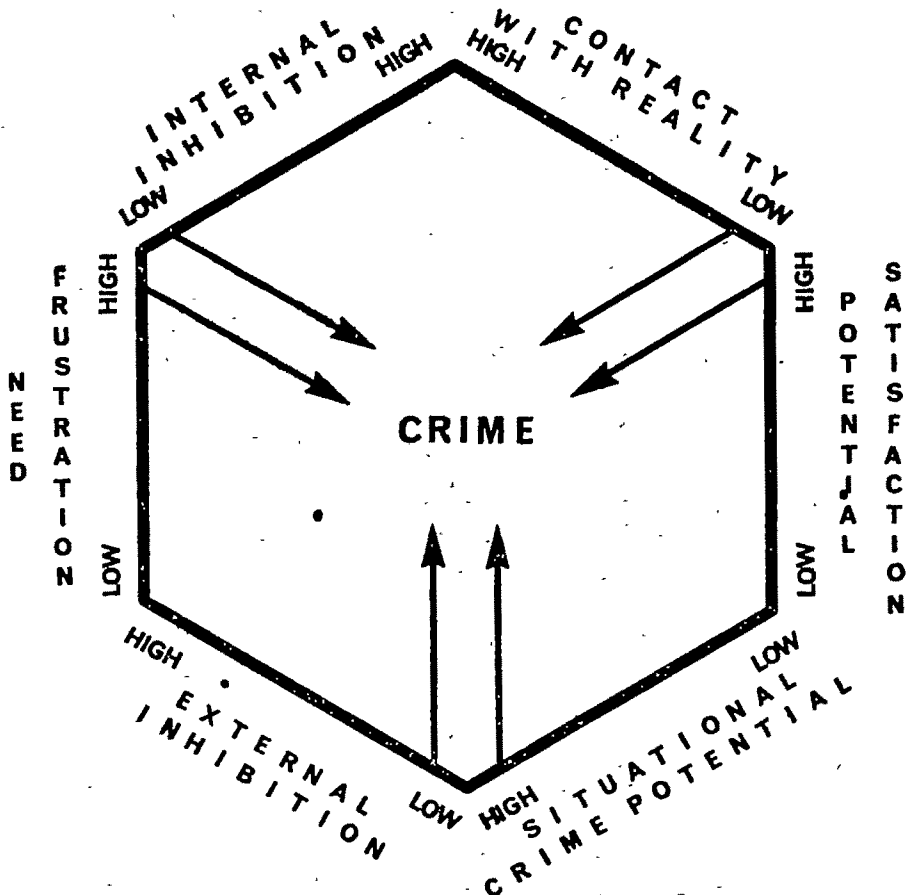
Criminosynthesis theory is not concerned with abstruse, deep, and unconscious factors or with the remote causes of criminal functioning and behaviour. It purports, instead, to evaluate the individual as he functions and behaves now, in the present and immediate situations where he commits the crime, where he is being sentenced for the crime, where he is serving his sentence for the crime, or where he is on parole in relation to the crime. This evaluation is made by assessing the individual's characteristic functioning in relation to the six essential factors postulated by criminosynthesis as being crime-conducive whenever they become combined in a particular type of criminal synthesis.

Method of Administration

In actual practice the evaluation is made by giving the subject a copy of the Giannell Index of Criminality (see Figure 1), which represents in diagrammatic form the six essential factors included in criminosynthesis theory.¹ The

FIGURE 1

The Giannell Index of Criminality



¹ Copies of the diagram may be obtained without charge from the author.

examiner explains to the subject the meaning of the Index and of the six essential factors, and then asks him to attempt an evaluation of himself in relation to each factor. The meaning of the Index and of the six essential factors is explained by the examiner to the subject by slowly reading or approximating from memory the following definitions.

The Giannell Index of Criminality: "This Index attempts to represent all the factors which appear to explain why a person commits a crime. Now, let us look at the left side first" (pointing).

Need Frustration: "This factor, called need frustration, means that before committing a crime a person is likely to feel unhappy, unsatisfied, resentful or angry about something in particular, or about life in general. Now, look here" (pointing), "when need frustration increases, this arrow goes up to the HIGH mark and starts pointing toward CRIME. This does not mean, however, that the person will commit a crime yet; he just has one factor pointing toward crime. The other factors must be also evaluated before we can understand criminal behaviour." The examiner should watch the subject closely when giving the above explanation, making sure that the subject understands it clearly.

Internal Inhibition: "This factor" (pointing), "called internal inhibition, refers to all types of internal forces which may prevent a person from committing a crime. These forces may be the person's conscience, or his principles, or his sense of self-respect, or the particular conception he has of himself, or a sense of guilt or remorse that he may experience if he commits certain actions. These forces operate from within the person, without any need for restraints from outside. Now, look here" (pointing), "when internal inhibition is low or does not exist, the arrow goes down to the LOW mark and again starts pointing toward CRIME. The other factors must be considered too, however."

External Inhibition: "This factor" (pointing), "called external inhibition, refers to all types of external forces which may prevent an individual from committing a crime. These forces may be produced by the thought that the person may get caught if he commits the crime, or sentenced to prison for a given number of years, or disgraced in the community, or punished in some other way. Now, look here" (pointing), "when external inhibition is low or does not exist, the arrow goes down to the LOW mark and again starts pointing toward CRIME. Now, let us go on to the other factors."

Contact with Reality: "This factor" (pointing), "called contact with reality, refers to the extent to which the person can learn from his past experiences, especially his past mistakes, as well as to the extent to which he can evaluate accurately the present situation and foresee the consequences of his present actions in relation to his future. To this effect, a person's contact with reality is considered low whenever impulsively he wants to get right now some immediate satisfaction, without thinking that it may produce

for him a lot of trouble in the future. A person who has a high contact with reality, instead, does what is good for him in the long run. Now, look here" (pointing), "when contact with reality is low the arrow goes down to the LOW mark and starts pointing toward CRIME. The lower his contact with reality, the more the person is likely to commit a crime. Now, let us go on to the other factors."

Situational Crime Potential: "This factor" (pointing), "called situational crime potential, refers to the actual opportunity to commit the crime, that is, to the easiness or possibilities to commit a crime offered by a given place, situation, person, or environment. Now, look here" (pointing), "when the situational crime potential increases the arrow goes to the HIGH mark and starts pointing toward CRIME. The higher the situational crime potential, the higher is the probability that a person may commit a crime. Now, the concluding factor."

Potential Satisfaction: "This factor" (pointing), "called potential satisfaction, refers to the balance of gain and loss that a person may experience if he commits a given crime. If the person has nothing to lose, he is more likely to commit the crime. If, instead, he has a great deal of assets in his life, and cares about them, such as love in relation to his parents, his family, his children, a good job, hobbies, money in the bank, property, a good reputation, etc., he is not as likely to commit certain crimes because he has too much to lose. Provided that his contact with reality is high enough, a person who, for example, has \$100,000 in the bank is not likely to steal \$10. You can see from what was just said, that all the factors explained interact with each other. A person may, for example, have high external inhibition which would make the arrow in the diagram point away from crime. If, however, in the diagram" (pointing), "the arrow for need frustration points to HIGH, the one for internal inhibition to LOW, the one for contact with reality to LOW, the one for situational crime potential to HIGH, and the one for potential satisfaction to HIGH, there are enough arrows pointing to CRIME to produce a criminal type of synthesis (or combination) and a consequent high probability of criminal behaviour. As you can see, it is the combination of all the factors taken together that counts, and not any one factor taken alone."

"Now, let us consider each factor, one at a time, and then we will consider their combination or synthesis. About the need frustration factor, think back and try to remember what you were unhappy, unsatisfied, resentful, or angry about in particular or in general before you committed a crime?"

After this factor is discussed the examiner proceeds to the second factor, internal inhibition, saying: "How would you assess yourself regarding the possible inhibiting influence of conscience, principles, self-respect, conception of oneself, guilt or remorse in relation to criminal behaviour?" The same type of assessment is obtained from the subject in relation to the other essential factors, by asking questions paraphrasing the definitions previously given. As this assessment proceeds the combination and interaction of the factors are also discussed.

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Results of Application

The author is applying criminosynthesis theory as an interviewing schedule in the manner described in connection with his work as a consultant for the evaluation and classification of inmates at Clinton State Prison in Dannemora, N.Y. Inmates of average I.Q. (measured by the Hillside-Wechsler I) can readily understand the meaning of the definitions given in relation to the six essential factors, readily grasp the meaning of criminosynthesis (or criminal synthesis), and readily arrive at an accurate evaluation about themselves.

When the explanation of the six essential factors is given, the inmates appear to grasp the meaning faster and with better understanding than college students, to whom the same subject-matter is explained by the author in Criminology class. Many inmates nod approvingly when the factors are explained, make frequent comments such as "... That's right ... That's the way it is ... Yea, Yea ... I see what you mean ...", and in many cases interrupt the examiner before the explanation of a given factor is completed, conveying the idea that they already get the point and want to proceed to the definition of the next factor.

All the inmates appear to be intrigued by the theory and by the Index, and most of them are able to make an instant assessment about themselves on the six essential factors. In some cases, when the explanation of the six factors is completed, the inmates look at the examiner with suspicion, say that they get the idea about the Index very clearly, but, they add laughingly, "Why should I tell you about it?" "If I tell you what my Index looks like," one inmate said, "I'm going to really show you what kind of criminal I am. Why should I?"

The examiner explains in these cases that the subjects do not really have to tell him anything, but that they may want to discuss and find out for themselves more about their personality and about the reasons why they committed crimes. They may also want to know, the examiner adds, what they can do in order not to commit further crimes in the future. Many inmates appear to have spent a great deal of time thinking about this problem and discussing this problem with other inmates. Generally, at this point the inmates become less suspicious, partly because of what the examiner said and partly because of a genuine urge to talk freely about their characteristic criminal motivations.

This free communication is not obtained, however, only on the basis of what the examiner says or the inmate feels. Good rapport must be established in the interviewing session by approaching the inmate from the beginning with a soft, respectful, and accepting attitude, and by conveying the idea that the examiner is genuinely interested in the inmate as a person, and is empathising with him and his problems. When this is achieved the inmates will talk very freely, and assess very accurately their particular criminosynthesis. At the completion of the interview, in fact, some inmates say that they cannot understand why they spoke so freely, and disclosed so much about themselves. In some cases they shrug and say, "Well, I talked a lot, but I enjoyed it anyway." Some ask for a copy of the Index to take to their cells and to use as a guide in discussing their crime problems with other inmates. Some ask

for the examiner's address in order to be able to communicate with him after their release from prison. Most express a genuine interest to change their future in a non-criminal direction, once they become aware of the reasons why they committed crimes and of the possibility of changing the synthesis of the six essential factors in a way that will not be crime-conducive.

Discussion

The purpose of the author's work at Clinton State Prison does not include at this time the possibility of any extensive interaction with the inmates or the possibility of an extensive follow-up study. So far, crimosynthesis theory can be applied by the author at Clinton State Prison only in relation to the evaluation of the nature and intensity of the criminality of the inmates.

To this effect, on the basis of crimosynthesis theory an evaluation can be made of each inmate as to what type of criminal he is, and what type of danger he represents for society. In relation to some cases the Index of Criminality shows that need frustration is high, internal inhibition absent, external inhibition present but annulled by low contact with reality, and potential satisfaction high since the person has nothing to lose if he commits a crime; when this person is placed in an environment having a high situational crime potential he would have a high probability of committing a crime, and would represent a high danger for society.

In relation to some other cases, instead, where need frustration is high, but some internal inhibition and external inhibition are present, a relatively high contact with reality and a relatively low potential satisfaction may allow a positive prognosis even if the person is placed in an environment having high situational crime potential.

Several combinations of syntheses of the six essential factors are found by the author, and on the basis of each synthesis a statement can be made regarding the particular prognosis pertinent to each inmate. This can be done, as pointed out at the beginning of this paper, in terms of factors and in a language that has more meaning and can be of more practical help, whatever the setting, to the judge, the attorney, the parole board, the prison administrator, the probation officer and the police.

It may also be noticed that the application of crimosynthesis as an interviewing schedule for the evaluation of offenders does not really require specialised training in psychology, but it can be successfully employed by any intelligent, understanding, and conscientious worker in the areas of crime and delinquency.

In the future this application will be supplemented by an application involving a standardised Index of Criminality, and by an application involving problems of crime treatment and prevention. The research which is in progress in these areas will be reported in further publications.

Summary

This paper describes the application of Giannell's crimosynthesis theory in interviewing situations concerned with the evaluation or classification of

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offenders. The method of administration consists in giving to the subject a copy of the Giannell Index of Criminality which represents in diagrammatic form the six essential factors included in crimosynthesis theory, *i.e.*, need frustration, internal inhibition, external inhibition, contact with reality, situational crime potential, and potential satisfaction. The meaning of the six essential factors is explained by the examiner, and the subject is asked to make an assessment of himself with reference to each factor. As a result an evaluation of the criminal synthesis responsible for crime can be obtained, and the probability of further crime commission assessed.

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NOTES

THE MOUNTBATTEN REPORT

HUGH J. KLARE

THE Mountbatten Committee was set up in October 1966. In fact, Lord Mountbatten's assessors were not appointed until October 27. The Report of this Committee,¹ comprising ninety-three pages and containing fifty-two recommendations, was written, printed and published by December.

The inquiry was not only extraordinarily speedy, it also covered a great deal of ground. George Blake's escape and those by the train robbers Wilson and Biggs, a breakaway from a coach and, finally, Frank Mitchell's disappearance from an honour party, were all dealt with in detail. Security arrangements were of course fully considered and improvements recommended. But staff morale, promotions, prison management and Whitehall control were also taken into account, as were social work in prison, contacts with families, voluntary workers and the régime in general.

The impact of the Report and of some measures preceding it on the escape rate was dramatic. In the last few years, escapes from closed prisons had been at the rate of six to seven a month or perhaps twenty a quarter. Between January 1 and March 25, 1966, there were twenty-three escapes. Between January 1 and March 25, 1967, they were down to one. And by mid-August, there were still only five escapes. Assuming a similar rate for the rest of the year, this means that the rate of escape is now only one-tenth of what it was

¹ *Report of the Inquiry into Prison Escapes and Security*. H.M.S.O. Cmd. 3175.

in previous years—a much greater reduction than was achieved in France² in somewhat similar circumstances.³

The trouble is that this tightening up had to be carried out within nineteenth century buildings not designed either for modern treatment concepts or for modern ideas on high security. Moreover, although the Mountbatten Report rightly suggested dividing prisoners into security categories, the research basis for these categories was missing. The categorisation was therefore bound to be somewhat rough and ready.

If one stands back for a moment and looks at penological developments in the advanced countries during the last two decades, one is struck by how many of them are held back by old prisons. All kinds of interesting and flexible treatment methods are evolving outside some of these ancient but by no means venerable piles. But in spite of the odd bit of group work, both with prisoners and with staff, the architecture of the old jails is such that the organisation of meaningful work and leisure and the deployment of specialist services which could also lead to specialised régimes are all but impossible.

This has been so in this country for a very long time now. But it was not the undramatic inadequacy of our old prisons and the limitations of their régime that led to an outcry on the part of the parliamentary opposition but the sensational escapes of two train robbers and a spy. At least the Mountbatten Report meant that rather more money would become available for a larger prison service. But for all the Report's strictures of our old prisons, its broad effect looks like being tighter security within them; and not their rapid replacement by modern and more appropriate institutions.

That is all very well, it may be said, but is it not crying for the moon to ask for new prisons when our economy is in difficulties? Perhaps—but when is it ever the right time to launch a major rebuilding programme? When Herbert Morrison was Home Secretary during the war, he is said to have expressed the wish that all our Pentonvilles and Strangeways, Winson Greens and Waltons could be blown up. A quarter of a century later, there they are still, slicked up a little here and Mountbattened down there, but looking as permanent as ever. The only dim hope for their reasonably rapid disappearance may lie in the recommendations of the Select Committee on Estimates⁴ that the sites of these old jails should be handed back to the local authorities against appropriate payment; and that the money thus made available might go towards a twentieth century prison system.

Of course, the Mountbatten Committee was not asked to look into either the régime or the system. It is to its credit that it came up with so many recommendations which have only an indirect bearing on security. Perhaps the most important of them may have been the realisation that the manage-

² *Rapport General sur l'exercice 1965*, par Raymond Morice, Directeur de l'Administration Pénitentiaire, Ministère de la Justice.

(It is worth a thought that the French Report groups information about escapes and about suicides into one and the same paragraph—perhaps in recognition of two very unofficial modes of getting away.)

³ For details see "Prisons since Mountbatten," Hugh J. Klare, in *New Society*, August 31, 1967.

⁴ Eleventh Report from the Estimates Committee—Session 1966–67. *Prisons, Borstals and Detention Centres*. H.M.S.O. 599.

CURRENT SURVEY

ment structure of the prison service needed a new look. One could have wished that the newly proposed Inspector General might have been called Director-General, in recognition of the top management function which is involved. But at least an appointment was made and all eyes are now on Brigadier Mark Maunsell. He has a tough job and only a short time to do it in. He will need a little luck as well as good judgment to bring about the reorganisation that is required.

THE ABORTION ACT 1967

DAVID GREEN

ON July 22, 1966, David Steele, M.P. for Roxburgh and Selkirk, secured a second reading for his Medical Termination of Pregnancy Bill "to amend and clarify the law" by an unprecedented 223-29 vote in the House of Commons.

The legislation he was seeking to amend was contained in the Offences against the Person Act 1861. That Act declared, *inter alia*, that it was felony, punishable by penal servitude for life, for any woman unlawfully to attempt by any means to procure her own miscarriage; and for any other person unlawfully to use any means to attempt to procure the miscarriage of a woman. It also made the supplying of any substance or instrument in the knowledge that it was to be used for that purpose a misdemeanour.

Until Lord Ellenborough's Act of 1803 abortion became a crime only after quickening and even then only as a common law misdemeanour. The 1803 Act made abortion a felony punishable by death; but the common law distinction "any woman then being quick with child" was preserved, for the "lesser" penalties of fine, imprisonment, whipping or transportation for up to fourteen years were prescribed for abortion before quickening.

Lord Lansdowne's Act of 1828 repealed the 1803 Act with no material change other than a minor relaxation of the penalties.

The Offences against the Person Act 1837 repealed Lord Lansdowne's Act and removed any distinction as to whether quickening had taken place or as to whether the woman was pregnant or not. The charitable and reforming zeal of the 1830's, however, resulted in the abandonment of the death penalty in favour of transportation or imprisonment. The 1837 Act was replaced by sections 58 and 59 of the Offences against the Person Act 1861 which has remained the sole statute law governing the position up to the present time.

Parliament's last substantive enactment on termination of the human reproductive process was the Infant Life (Preservation) Act of 1929 which created the felony of child destruction (punishable then with penal servitude for life) for the destruction of a child capable of being born alive—defined by the Act as the *prima facie* situation where a pregnancy has run for a period in excess of twenty-eight weeks.

The 1929 Act, however, incorporated some modest acknowledgment of the advance of knowledge and humanitarian principles by requiring that it had to

be proved that the act which caused the death of the child "was not done in good faith for the purpose only of preserving the life of the mother"—a proviso which the Criminal Law Commissioners had recommended for the offence of abortion in 1846.

The task of equating our law with the needs of reality then passed to the Judiciary. In 1938 an eminent consultant obstetrician terminated the pregnancy of a fourteen year old child who had been raped. He informed the Attorney General and invited prosecution. He was indicted under section 58 of the 1861 Act. In his direction to the jury Mr. Justice Macnaghten argued that the word "unlawfully" in the 1861 Act was not insignificant and implied the possibility of a lawful termination; and, sustained by the proviso in the Infant Life Preservation Act, he directed the jury that termination to preserve a woman's life was lawful. Further, he concluded: "If the doctor is of the opinion, on reasonable grounds and with adequate knowledge, that the probable consequence of the continuance of the pregnancy will be to make the woman a physical or mental wreck, the jury are quite entitled to take the view that the doctor who, under those circumstances and in that honest belief, operates, is operating for the purpose of preserving the life of the mother."

On the basis of this slender authority those doctors who have terminated pregnancies since that time have hoped to be able to justify their actions if called in question.

In 1936 the Abortion Law Reform Association was set up in an attempt by a number of women to give political impetus to the many calls for reform.

In 1939 an inter-departmental committee set up in 1937 reported on abortion; and in 1953 Mr. Joseph Reeves sought to introduce a Private Members Bill in Parliament to amend the 1861 Act by giving statutory form to the decision of Mr. Justice Macnaghten—the main recommendation of the 1939 Committee. He was beaten by the adjournment five minutes after moving the second reading.

In 1954 Lord Amulree introduced a Bill in the Lords to repeat the provisions of Mr. Reeves' Bill and to permit termination where there was a grave risk of gross physical or mental deformity in the child. His Bill did not progress beyond the first reading.

In 1961 Mr. Kenneth Robinson introduced a Bill into the Commons containing the grounds in Lord Amulree's Bill and also making lawful terminations of pregnancy as a result of criminal offences. This Bill also died with the adjournment.

In 1965 Mrs. Renee Short introduced a Bill largely identical with Kenneth Robinson's Bill under the ten minute rule in the House of Commons. It did not secure a second reading. Shortly after, Lord Silkin introduced a further Bill in the Lords which, for the first time, added social factors as a ground for termination, additional to those previously advanced in the Commons. This Bill passed through all its stages in the Lords but fell by the wayside with the dissolution of Parliament in 1966.

In the meantime, Mr. Wingfield Digby, in February 1966, had had another Bill talked out in the Commons which covered basically the same grounds as its recent predecessors in the Lords.

CURRENT SURVEY

On July 22, 1966, David Steele, having secured a high place in the Private Members' Ballot, moved the second reading of his Medical Termination of Pregnancy Bill. The Bill sought to declare lawful terminations of pregnancy carried out by a registered medical practitioner who, in consultation with another, was of the opinion, formed in good faith:

1. that the continuation of the pregnancy involved serious risk to the life or of grave injury to the health, physical or mental, of the pregnant woman whether before, at or after the birth of the child, or
2. that there was a substantial risk that if born the child would be seriously handicapped by physical or mental abnormalities, or
3. that the pregnant woman's capacity as a mother would be seriously overstrained by the care of the child or another child, or
4. that the pregnant woman was a defective or became pregnant while under the age of sixteen or as the result of rape.

The Bill restricted operations to National Health Service hospitals, registered nursing homes and places approved by the Minister or the Secretary of State and provided power for the Minister to make regulations.

The approval of the second reading by 223 to 29 initiated one of the most bitter Parliamentary struggles of modern times.

Outside Parliament public opposition centred initially—and predictably—around the Roman Catholic Church which continued as the major focus of public resistance to the measure throughout its progress in the Commons. Polls conducted by National Opinion Polls Limited indicated that by far the greater proportion of the population supported the Bill, and the case in support was made articulate through the Abortion Law Reform Association which was continuing its activities for reform commenced in 1936. A number of women's organisations and religious denominations other than Roman Catholic added support in varying degrees. Members of Parliament were bombarded with representations on the Bill by the contending factions and practically all publicity media were employed in arguing the case for and against.

In December 1966 the Roman Catholic Church, no doubt appreciating the dangers in an entirely sectarian approach to the Bill, yielded place to the newly formed Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (S.P.U.C.) which sought to channel a more broadly based opposition to the Bill—and to perform in opposition the function which A.L.R.A. was performing for those in support. S.P.U.C. also abandoned the outright and crude opposition to any reform adopted up to that time by the Roman Church, and pursued the more politically sophisticated course of accepting that some reform might be desirable, but that a Royal Commission was needed to find out what it was. The old adage: "Lies, damned lies, and statistics" acquired new dimensions and every argument found its own acknowledged expert able and willing to advance "the right answer"—answers which, in practically every case, found an equally eminent protagonist able and willing to advance a case diametrically in opposition. No doubt the only comfort that most M.Ps. could derive from the situation was that, whatever their personal inclinations might be, they could rely on a host of experts to agree with them. In such a situation the often

proclaimed "conscience" of the individual M.P. might, in reality, have full scope (subject to the limitations of parliamentary time) and so, not surprisingly, the burden of decision remained in Parliament as one of a simple individual issue—what do I consider to be right?

The Bill entered its Committee stage on January 18, 1967 and finally emerged after twelve protracted sessions on April 5. Many amendments were bitterly contested and the form of the Bill on report differed substantially from that on second reading, although in main part its content and intention remained undisturbed. With the exception of the provisions on severe physical and mental abnormality, the specific indications for termination contained in the second reading form of the Bill were abandoned—no doubt, wisely in view of the extent to which they might otherwise have pre-empted a doctor's decision; but a revised wording was introduced that was considered adequate to permit termination in any of the circumstances previously specifically indicated, where the doctor considered it medically appropriate to take this course. A new section was introduced to cope with the problems of visiting forces—unforeseen at second reading—as also was an escape clause for those in medical practice or employment with conscientious objection to abortion. Provisions were also written in for notification to the Chief Medical Officer at the Ministry and for approval of private nursing homes.

The comparative survival of the Bill during Committee predicated a violent report and third reading stage. These stages commenced in the Commons on June 2; fifty-seven amendments were tabled and the Speaker selected forty-four for discussion of which nineteen were to go to the vote. At the close on June 2 only two amendments had been voted. The Government then offered further limited time and the debate during the night of June 9 rapidly assumed the nature of a transatlantic filibuster. The report stage was still incomplete when the House rose after an all night Session. In the meantime, however, the Press had published the request of the opponents of the Bill to "keep the debate going for thirteen hours" and the public reaction to this, and to the proceedings in the House, was, no doubt, a relevant factor in the Government's decision on July 13 that it would then give as much time as was necessary to bring the matter to a vote. On the morning of July 14 the third reading was carried by 167 against 85.

Lord Silkin took up the passage of the Bill in the Lords and the second reading secured a vote with 127 for and 21 against on July 19. The Bill moved into Committee on July 26. There the proposal that one of the doctors conducting the operation should be a consultant under the National Health Service or specially approved by the Minister (rejected in the Commons) was finally grafted onto the Bill by 116 to 67. The provision in the Bill to permit termination where the continuation of the pregnancy might injure the physical or mental health of any existing children was expunged by 87 votes to 86. In practice, as both the sponsors and opponents of the Bill well knew, the first amendment would have made the new law far more restrictive than the subsisting case law; and the second would have removed one of the principal advances sought by those who envisaged the Bill as a measure of reform as well as codification. The Bill came up for report and third reading in the

Lords on October 23; and there these two critical decisions were reversed; on October 25 the Commons accepted other amendments initiated by the Lords including a provision entitling a third doctor, not one of the two who actually determined an abortion as appropriate, to perform the operation. In the Commons the Bill (renamed the Abortion (Number 2) Bill in the Lords) after a final, if symbolic, struggle on the part of its opponents, cleared all its stages and after a formal report to the Lords received the Royal Assent on October 27, 1967 at the end of the Parliamentary Session. It comes into operation six months after the date of enactment.

THE SEXUAL OFFENCES ACT

LEO ABSE M.P.

MORE than a decade elapsed before the House of Commons was prepared to implement the cautious recommendations of the Wolfenden Committee. Such timidity requires explanations. It may be apposite to recall Leon Trotsky's denunciation, made during a grim battle in 1918, of the "pusillanimity of an historic fatalism which in all questions, whether concrete or private, passively seeks a solution in general laws, and leaves out of account the mainspring of all human decisions—the living and acting individual." Certainly it was not the over-determined reactions of a handful of vociferous members that caused the long delay: the House of Commons was sufficiently self-conscious not to be much influenced by such manifest neurotic anxiety. But the "historic" argument against legislation was more seductive and sufficiently sophisticated to provide the rationalisation that many required. What had been done eighty years ago could not without catastrophic consequences now be undone. "Should we" asked Rab Butler in 1958 "if we were drawing up a code for the first colonists of the moon make this kind of an offence a criminal offence? I am in some doubt whether we should or should not." But he clearly had no doubts of the serious consequences if the existing prohibitions were abolished here and now. Not for the only time, Butler abdicated leadership. On this occasion it was to the Labouchère of 1885.

In many subsequent debates initiated by Kenneth Robinson and Roy Jenkins, by Berkeley and myself, first Butler plagiarised his own original thesis, and then other opponents of reform, albeit less fluently, adopted his arguments. Usually half the House failed to vote in such debates. The subject was mined, electoral opinion uncertain, and undoubtedly the whole matter too emotive to be courted. In 1962 when a Bill watering down Wolfenden was coming before the House and a Government decision was needed a prominent Minister refused to discuss the matter in Cabinet since the subject was too "disgusting," and an unhappy junior Minister was instructed to talk the Bill out. Reaction-formations of this order were not, however, widespread: but nevertheless there was a striking hesitation in the House to accept that public opinion was becoming less hostile to the Bill. The almost hermetically sealed male institution with its club and public school traditions was singularly vulnerable and sensitive to any criticism or innuendo. In an establishment where sometimes

imperfectly sublimated homosexual group loyalties play a prominent part and where repressed homosexuality may often be dealt with by paranoid references to opponents, resistance to insights into the aetiology of homosexuality predictably existed. Not less relevant to the tone of the debates was the notorious character disorder which issues in a passionate striving for power and prestige masking the attempt to overcome and deny anxiety. External power is sought as a means of protection against inner dependence and passivity. Unease among politicians, doubtless more marked than most to a dual identification with a powerful aggressor and an omnipotent provider, originally the imagos of father and mother, caused persistent difficulties to the reformers whose arguments could clearly never persuade those fearful of any passive homosexual component within their nature. The very number of debates, however, and the persistent controversy consequently aroused in the press, undoubtedly levered much repressed material to the surface and the later debates were markedly free from the earlier tensions. Meantime activation by Arran of a House of Lords anxious to maintain a progressive image teased and confused those in the Commons who were against reform but wished to identify the peers with reaction. And the Gallup polls, which, despite public denials to the contrary, are well noted by M.Ps. reassured those who always need to be led from behind. Most important to the final passing of the Bill was the entry into the House of an intake of academics and younger men to whom the traditional resistance of the more conservative was not meaningful: indeed already by 1965 the humourless speech of the main opponent to the Bill was regarded by them as caricature and was tolerantly received with unembarrassed laughter.

The Act in its final form, though substantially implementing the Wolfenden recommendations, reflected the appeasement required to assuage the irrational fears which otherwise could have overspilled and totally engulfed the Bill. The penalties attached to some public displays of homosexuality are too harsh: but the courts are, it is hoped, unlikely to apply the maximum sentences. The provisions concerning servicemen and seamen aboard merchant navy ships are unrealistic and could, if harshly administered, cause grave anomalies. More important, the interpretation of privacy within the Act, if too narrowly applied, could thwart the legislature's intentions. Vigilance will be required amongst reformers in the early years of the Act.

Its final passage was praised by Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary, who had given much assistance in securing the passage of the Bill, as "an important piece of social legislation" and ambivalently devalued by Quintin Hogg as "a small measure which will have very little effect on our social life." It would be, however, an error to assess the value of the Act in terms of those homosexuals who were directly affected by its provisions. The ten year debate, and its conclusion, helped to make our country a little more rational. Persistent educational campaigns of this kind assist both the nation and its leaders to gain insights and to come to terms with sexuality and aggression. Those who embark upon such campaigns, aware of the force of unconscious prejudices, know the way must be long and hard: but rationality cannot ever be easily achieved.

THE CRIMINAL LAW ACT 1967

PAUL DAVIES

THE Criminal Law Act 1967 received the Royal Assent on July 21, 1967, but Part I, the most important section, comes into effect only on January 1, 1968.¹ The Act has been warmly welcomed in all quarters,² and rightly so. It abolishes the distinction between felonies and misdemeanours and makes the law and practice relating to the latter of general application.³ As the Criminal Law Revision Committee, upon whose excellent report and draft bill⁴ the Act is securely based, baldly stated: "The distinction has become an anachronism, complicating the law unnecessarily; in our opinion there is nothing to be said for keeping it."⁵ The Act is mainly concerned with the consequences of the abolition.

The Report (and consequently the Act) does, however, fall foul of a difficulty that faces all committees with limited terms of reference: at what point is one beginning to encroach upon areas of law outside the terms of reference? Whilst the Committee was willing to grasp the opportunity to amend as well as merely to restate several rules of law dependent upon the distinction and to repeal a large mass of unnecessary statute law,⁶ it felt, no doubt correctly, that reform should not be attempted where questions of policy were raised.

The vice is inherent in the system, but it had some unfortunate consequences.⁷ A notable example is the reproduction without alteration in section 2 (2) of the rule in *Walters v. W. H. Smith and Son*.⁸ The present form of the rule is internally inconsistent in terms of policy: an honest and reasonable belief that the arrested person committed the offence will relieve the arresting citizen from any subsequent liability if his belief turns out to have been mistaken on this point and this no doubt encourages citizens' arrests. If, however, the offence in question has not been committed by anyone, a mistaken belief on this matter, no matter how honest and reasonable, will not avail the citizen and so he will be encouraged to call a constable⁹ rather than perform the arrest himself. If policy requires the law to restrict citizens' powers of arrest,¹⁰ a more rational limitation related to the nature of the offence could surely be found. At present the rule is a trap for people not versed in the ways of lawyers' reasoning. The citizen is entitled to expect either that acting upon an honest and reasonable belief shall be a complete protection or that he should be warned to call a constable whenever there is

¹ s. 12 (1).

² See e.g. [1967] Crim.L.R. 495.

³ s. 1.

⁴ Seventh Report "Felonies and Misdemeanours" (1965) Cmnd. 2659.

⁵ *Ibid.* para. 4.

⁶ See Schedules 3 and 4, and ss. 13, 14.

⁷ See also *loc. cit.*, paras. 73-74. Committee refused to recommend for this reason that courts should be able to combine fines with probation orders, or that assizes and quarter sessions be given the power to fine for breach of a probation order.

⁸ [1914] 1 K.B. 595.

⁹ The constable's wider common law powers are reproduced in s. 2 (4).

¹⁰ *Per* Isaacs C.J. at p. 606

any possible chance of a mistake. The latter is probably the better solution and, indeed, a tendency to restrict private powers of arrest can be detected in the Act. The power to arrest people about to commit offences is restricted to constables,¹¹ and there is no mention in the Act of a duty upon the citizen to arrest law-breakers in any circumstances. In both respects the Act is probably narrower than the common law.¹²

On the other hand the effect of the Act's provisions does seem to be to extend police powers of arrest without warrant, without any compensating restrictions as in the case of citizens. This comes about because the Act transfers powers of arrest, whether of constables or citizens, which previously attached to felonies to all offences where a punishment of imprisonment for five years or more is laid down by statute.¹³ These offences are termed "arrestable offences."¹⁴ The Committee thought¹⁵ that the only major offences that would hereby become subject to arrest without warrant would be obtaining property by false pretences and causing death by dangerous driving. However, as a result of the policy of upward revision of penalties adopted by the Theft Bill¹⁶ as it stands at present, nearly all the offences in that Bill will be covered. Previously powers of arrest without warrant existed at common law only in respect of larceny, fraudulent abstraction of electricity, robbery, breaking offences, some forms of blackmail, some forms of receiving and corruptly taking a reward, whilst all other offences under the Larceny Act 1916 were covered by section 41 (1) of that Act which permitted arrest without warrant only where the person was "found committing" the offence.¹⁷ The Act also clarifies the right of constables (but of no-one else) to enter and search premises for the purposes of effecting an arrest.¹⁸ It should be noted that the Act confers no right to search premises for evidence of guilt after arrest or to enter at all if the person is arrested off the premises.

The arrest provisions have been dwelt on because their effect seemed most open to query. Elsewhere, one can only rejoice at the overturning of *Sykes v. D. P. P.*¹⁹ and the abolition of the offence of compounding, whether of a felony or a misdemeanour. They are replaced by an offence aimed at people who take bribes not to reveal to the police information that might be of material assistance in procuring a conviction for an arrestable offence.²⁰ The maximum punishment is two years' imprisonment and the consent of the D. P. P. is needed to initiate a prosecution. The offence which was the subject of *Manley*²¹ is covered by a summary offence, prosecution for which requires the consent of the D. P. P., but it is a pity that the opportunity was not taken

¹¹ s. 2 (5).

¹² Note that the decision in *Brown* (1841) C. & M. 314 (duty to assist police in breaches of the peace when called upon to do so) is not affected.

¹³ Thus common law misdemeanours are excluded.

¹⁴ s. 2 (1).

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*, para. 9.

¹⁶ Action has been promised on this Bill in the current Parliamentary session: *The Times*, November 1, 1967.

¹⁷ On this and other points, see *Thomas* [1966] Crim.L.R. 481, 639.

¹⁸ s. 2 (6). The previous law was contained in *Thomas v. Sawkins* (1935) 51 T.L.R. 514, especially *per* Lord Hewart. See also in this connection s. 3.

¹⁹ [1962] A.C. 528; 45 Cr.App.R. 230.

²⁰ s. 5 (1). Thus *Ring* [1965] 1 W.L.R. 706 is no longer good law.

²¹ [1933] 1 K.B. 529; 24 Cr.App.R. 25.

to obliterate *Manley* itself.²² The offence of being an accessory after the fact to a felony is replaced by an offence of impeding the apprehension or prosecution of someone who has committed an arrestable offence.²³ Section 33 of the Larceny Act 1916 is extended to cover various dishonest forms of handling property by receivers in circumstances where they do not obtain possession of the goods.²⁴

Among a number of provisions not concerned with substantive law is section 6 (3),²⁵ which allows the jury in a trial on indictment to find the accused not guilty of the offence specifically charged in the indictment but guilty of another offence covered by the allegations in the indictment, whether this other offence would previously have been a felony or a misdemeanour, and the opportunity is taken to repeal²⁶ a number of statutes which conferred this power where the offences in question are not closely related. Section 6 (5) provides that if a person pleads not guilty to the offence charged but guilty of another offence and the latter plea is accepted, conviction on the plea of guilty shall be an acquittal of the offence charged. Section 7 (1) ensures that conviction under a statute for an offence for which no maximum punishment is laid down in the statute shall not involve imprisonment for longer than two years, whilst Schedule 2, paragraph 9, extends the courts' powers to order felons to pay compensation to all trials on indictment and raises the limit to £400. Finally, many people will be grateful for the easy method provided for ascertaining which offences do and which do not fall within the jurisdiction of quarter sessions.²⁷

"NEW TRENDS IN CRIME AND ITS CONTROL"

THE I.S.T.D. SUMMER SCHOOL

Bristol, September 11-16, 1967

JOHN C. FREEMAN

THE reward for the exacting and elaborate preliminary planning of this Summer School was the success of the event itself. Into the six days were slotted nine major lectures, regular syndicates and plenary discussions as well as numerous visits to a wide range of institutions in the district, of which conference members could make their choice according to various schedules and combinations from a total list of some thirty establishments available to them.

The programme attracted over 130 participants. This number included a generous cross-section of the probation and after-care service, the prison, borstal and approved school departments, and several magistrates. Many must have

²² s. 5 (2).

²³ s. 4 (1).

²⁴ s. 4 (7).

²⁵ Murder is specially dealt with in s. 6 (2).

²⁶ See Sched. 2, para. 13.

²⁷ Sched. 1.

NOTES

been gratified to find a substantial contingent of senior police officers contributing to the discussions, but disappointed to see again how few practising members of the legal profession appear to be able to find time during the vacation for exercises of this kind. The very comfortable accommodation of Hiatt Baker Hall, one of the newest halls of residence of Bristol University, made an excellent environment for the informal meetings and greetings which are amongst the principal fringe benefits of inter-disciplinary conferences of this kind.

In providing an "Introduction to the Theme," Sir Norman Skelhorn, the Director of Public Prosecutions, asked: "Is the war against crime in England and Wales being effectively waged and is the enforcement of the criminal law as effective as it should be. . . ?" "The dice are quite ridiculously and unrealistically loaded in favour of suspects and unconvicted persons," he said. The rules against self-incrimination, amongst others, warranted a re-examination. Mr. N. Avison led the conference at a sprightly pace through a maze of statistics while lecturing on the topic "Changing Patterns of Crime." He, too, thought the percentage of acquittals surprisingly high and asked: "Can so many innocent people be on trial?" Listening to authority one could not help musing upon the old-fashioned dictum concerning how much better it is for a great number of the guilty to be acquitted rather than for one innocent man to be wrongly convicted and wondering for how much this might count by 1984.

The theme "New Methods of Crime Control" was taken up by Col. Sir Eric St. Johnston, C.B.E., Chief Inspector of Constabulary. He took a crisp look at the rationalisation of the police system. It was likely that the number of 117 forces could be reduced to forty-five by April 1968. The Chief Inspector is clearly in favour of the "unit beat system" as one mode of deploying man-power more efficiently. It was hoped to obtain more university graduates for the Force by continuing the successful experiment of placing selected officers on full-time degree courses and by offering accelerated promotion as an incentive to, say, twenty suitable graduate candidates for recruitment.

Mr. J. L. Burns and Dr. Pamela Mason described "The Modern Young Offenders" as they saw them in different groupings on the contemporary scene, and general discussion ensued about "the teenage problem. . . ." Mr. J. E. Adams contributed a paper on "Recent Developments in the Work of the Courts" and Mr. Vernon Holloway spoke on "New Concepts of Institutional Treatment." One of the reasons why existing methods of therapy in institutions did not entirely succeed, said Mr. Holloway, was because there was a failure to involve the whole institution including all personnel. Although difficult in practice, this should be the aim. In talking about "Non-Institutional Treatment of Offenders," Mr. Gordon Jones led his meeting on to a cathartic discussion of probation and parole, and the conference concluded with a lecture from Mr. T. S. Lodge, C.B.E., under the title "Developments in Criminological Research." Mr. Lodge explained that the current work of the Home Office Research Unit and bodies it sponsored was directed towards the study of crime in society, the treatment of offenders and the administration

of justice and he illustrated the breadth of research by reference to particular projects, such as the experimental study of the jury system at the London School of Economics and Political Science, which was proving most interesting.

The programme allowed for discussion in plenary session after each lecture and there were some useful exchanges on the floor. Syndicates were convened to enable closer discussion to proceed at certain stages but were only partially successful as many participants preferred the forum of a larger grouping. The numerous visits, so excellently organised, formed for many people one of the most useful sections of the week's work. It may be questioned at times how much really is learned by arranged tours of a miscellany of establishments—there are always the chapel, the kitchens, the dormitories, the recreation rooms, etc., etc.. But the many options open on this Summer School covered almost the whole range of establishments, so that it was possible, for example, to manage to see several senior approved schools for girls, or prisons for men, and to form a more balanced impression from immediate comparisons within each group.

One might have wondered by September 16 whether the week had attempted to include too much. For many of us, activity followed activity, with only one half-day in which to relax or to explore the charms of Bristol and its environs. But this was a Summer School. No professional person taking time off from the office could possibly feel that his week was wasted.

LINKUP

THE project "Linkup" is designed to reduce the isolation of the prisoner; it is a quarterly journal due to appear in January 1968 which will foster two-way communication across the prison wall. Contributions will be published from prisoners, ex-prisoners, their spouses, those who are involved with them officially in any capacity or as voluntary workers, and from anyone, eminent or otherwise, who feels he has something to communicate, even marginally, towards this objective. It will entertain as well as inform, and will carry short stories, cartoons, poems, letters, as well as more serious articles.

Primarily a means of inter-communication and information, it is not intended that the journal should be used as a pressure instrument, a scandal sheet or as a means of gratifying morbid self-pity or curiosity, but rather that it should be an attractive and worthwhile journal with an image and identity of its own.

The then Home Secretary expressed his "warmest approval" of the venture, and Lord Stonham generously attended and addressed the press-release conference on July 1, 1967.

Although it hopes to be self-supporting and to pay standard rates to its contributors, the project is initially dependent on charitable sources and upon the interest of the community.

Its originator and editor is Iain Scarlet and its office is at 125, Kennington Park Road, London S.E. 11.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

REVIEWS

HUSTLERS, BEATS, AND OTHERS. By NED POLSKY. [Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co. 1967. 218 pp. 42s. 6d.]

THE promise of something unconventional about the sociology of crime and deviant behaviour is held out by a book in which one chapter is headed by quotes from Pascal and Al Capone, the "S's" in the subject index include "Sex Life of a Cop" and "Significant Others" and the "G's" in the name index include Jean Genet, Max Gluckman, the Gluecks and Alan Ginsburg. The text does not disappoint and although he is too self-consciously unconventional, at times, Polsky has provided us with a rewarding and stimulating set of essays. What it lacks in concise theoretical formulations, it makes up for in many other ways.

The central concern is with the sociology of deviance, but the book is as diverse in subject-matter as it is in style and methodology. The longest chapter, "The Hustler," is a field study, based primarily on participant observation, of a deviant occupation, poolroom hustling. The hustler makes his living by betting against his opponents in pool or billiard games and as part of the playing and betting engages in various deceitful practices which primarily involve concealing his skill from his opponent. Hustling is stigmatized as a morally deviant occupation, not so much because the hustler breaks the misdemeanour laws against gambling, but because he makes a living of this and violates the norms regulating correct behaviour to one's fellow men.

Leaving aside the considerable intrinsic fascination of this study, there seem to me to be three points of general relevance to the study of deviance. The first is that Polsky is determined to understand hustling as simply a special case of general occupational theory. Criminologists who study illegal occupations have much to gain if "... they will overcome their fascination with the 'illegal' part enough to focus on the 'occupation' part." In the type of occupational sociology pioneered by Everett Hughes (and already used so successfully by Becker in regard to dance band musicians) hustling is described in terms of recruitment, induction, career contingencies and work situation; all patterns which could be applied to, say, career crime and prostitution. In fact, although Polsky does not carry the analysis this far, some of these patterns are equally applicable to non-career types of deviance; as again Becker has shown in regard to marijuana smoking. The notion of the drift to delinquency as against the positivist notion of a conscious choice of the delinquent role seems, for example, to be paralleled by the transition from hustler to non-hustler status; this "... never seems to involve a conscious desire to become a hustler, but rather a recognition that one is already a hustler and good at it." The second general relevance of the chapter relates

to the hustler's ideology; or rather, lack of it. According to Polsky, hustlers are unlike other socially deviant sub-cultures in that the fact of their activities being stigmatized does not preoccupy them. They have an apparent immunity to outside opinion not found in other stigmatized groups such as Negroes, homosexuals and career criminals, and do not develop a counter ideology about outsiders. Polsky explains this insensitivity in terms of the physical segregation of the hustler; outsiders are not at all a significant reference group to him, "... he has not even the most latent aspirations to membership in their world." If Polsky is correct, this seems to be a genuinely deviant case in the theory of deviant sub-cultures; typically, though, he merely records his dissent from orthodox opinion and does not go on to suggest how the theory could be modified. The third strictly criminological relevance of the chapter relates to the decline in hustling as a career and of poolroom playing in general. The hustler finds it difficult to make ends meet and, if he is not to retire, he must moonlight. Because of his working-class origin, his lack of legitimate job training, and the availability of criminal contacts, his moonlighting often involves taking criminal jobs: booster, fence, drug pusher, numbers runner, pimp. The career contingencies which lead the hustler to crime as an additional source of income, suggest the possibility that much of what criminologists refer to as "occasional crime" could be better understood as moonlighting. As Polsky points out, much serious crime is undertaken by people who are neither mentally ill, nor white collar criminals nor career criminals nor even (like the hustler) oriented to petty crime as a career. They may be legitimately employed in lower-class jobs, run up debts and see the "one-shot" crime as a way to solvency without giving up their regular job. Another example would be prostitution taken up "in a moonlighting way" by sales-girls, waitresses and office girls.

The other most important chapter, and the one that is most calculated to raise some criminologists' hackles, is entitled "Research Method, Morality and Criminology." The starting-off point is that, if criminology is to make any advance in understanding criminal life-styles and sub-cultures, we must undertake "genuine field research." This means not relying on a skewed sample studied in non-natural surroundings, but studying adult criminals in their own environment. There is a large gap in our knowledge—Sutherland's *Chic Conwell* is almost our only picture of a professional thief and we know even less about other career criminals—and Polsky indicts criminology textbooks for actually discouraging such research. He is fair in pointing out the "copouts" the textbooks use to avoid these problems but, I think, misunderstands "labelling theory" which surely does not say that one should only study labelled criminals but merely points to the special consequences of labelling. Polsky fills the gap in our knowledge of field work methodology by offering a list of the procedures he himself has found useful in such research. I am sure they are all helpful but he is perhaps too abrupt with the textbook criticism that such research is extremely difficult. One of his procedures, for example, involves establishing contact on the basis of common leisure pursuits. How many middle-class criminologists, however, could have

embarked on a study of hustling without Polsky's personal background as a dedicated billiard player who has frequented poolrooms for twenty years?

The other stimulating problem which this chapter raises concerns the morality of criminological research. Polsky is right in noting—as C. Wright Mills did many years ago—the ambivalent value commitment of criminology. As he says, of all the sub-fields of sociology, criminology has been the least successful in freeing itself from traditional social work concerns. “The great majority of criminologists are social scientists only up to a point—the point usually being the start of the second ‘control of crime’ half of the typical criminology course—and beyond that point they are really social workers in disguise or else correction officers *manqués*.” Their concern is to find more effective ways of reforming lawbreakers and preventing other people from becoming lawbreakers. In the context of field research, this type of sociologist is, in Polsky's striking analogy, just like the anthropologist who turns his tribe over to the colonial officials. One cannot combine the scientific and the missionary role; if the sociologist would rather be a superior sort of social worker, cop or therapist, there is no denying him this right; “. . . but at least let him own up to what he really is and stop fouling the waters of science with muck about the ‘dual role of practitioner-researcher’.” (Yablonsky's phrase.) Although Polsky's picture of the “waters of science” over-simplifies the Weberian position he claims it derives from, I would agree that much of what goes on in the name of criminology—particularly in this country—is simply misplaced moralising or crude social engineering. The sell-out to the colonial officials has already taken place.

There are two others chapters. One is a study of the beats in Greenwich Village, not as vivid and authoritative as the portrait of the hustler and containing too many journalistic generalisations. There is enough information, though, about work, sex, drugs, race, crime, politics and literature in the Beat Scene to correct some of the more romantic stereotypes about this sub-culture. The final chapter on the sociology of pornography seems to do little more than adapt Kingsley Davis's functionalist theory of prostitution to pornography and claim accordingly that the distinction between “hard core” pornography and erotic art is specious.

Polsky is firmly in the Chicago tradition. He faithfully follows Park's instructions to go out and observe and has the necessary passionate curiosity. Without denying the considerable methodological and theoretical advances that have been made since the golden years of the Chicago School, I think it is about time we had someone to remind us what we may be excused for forgetting in the intervening forty years: that sometimes sociology can be interesting and even entertaining. The sell-out to the IBM machine is even more insidious than the sell-out to the colonial officials.

Stanley Cohen

LES BANDES D'ADOLESCENTS. By PHILIPPE ROBERT. [Paris: Les Editions Ouvrières. 1966. 387 pp. 27NF.]

LES BLOUSONS NOIRS. By A. RACINE, C. SOMERHAUSEN, CHR. DEBUYST, G. DE BOCK AND L. DE BRAY. [Brussels: Editions Cujas. 1966. 236 pp. No price given.]

LA DÉLINQUENCE JUVENILE EN BELGIQUE EN 1960, 1961 ET 1962. By A. RACINE. [Brussels, Centre d'Etude de la Délinquance Juvenile. 1966. 50 pp. No price given.]

Les Bandes d'Adolescents is an abortive effort to theorise about the nature and the social significance of juvenile gangs. The author, Robert, starts his effort with what at first appears to be a potentially fruitful approach: the study of the gang phenomenon in historical, macro-sociological and cross-cultural perspectives. In fact, in the first forty pages or so a sketch of the possibilities of examining the gang phenomenon through the structure, ideologies and value systems of society, documented by interesting references, retains the attention of the reader. This introduction, however, proves to be an unfulfilled promise. After a review of the contemporary (mostly French) literature, Robert discusses gang activities as a social process characteristic of the period of adolescence and social maturation, and conceives a make-shift continuum (almost a simplistic dichotomy) between "social" gangs and "pathological" (essentially delinquent) gangs. The author then examines the nature of the "social" gangs, and in the process shovels in facts, theories, value judgments, speculations and truisms with indiscriminate innocence. He then moves on to examine the gang phenomenon as a pathological manifestation, analysing this manifestation as a product of the social segregation of adolescent gangs, their deficient social environment, and the psychopathology of the gang members, and regurgitating the gamut of classical variables related (and not really related) to this maladaptation, to arrive ultimately at the somewhat time-worn conclusions found in almost every elementary treatise or textbook dealing with juvenile delinquency.

In the final section of the book, Robert deals with problems of individual and general prevention through legislative and social action, and the relatively more instructive part of the book is found in the author's brief discussion of the legal problems connected with prevention, control and treatment. He suggests, for example, that the individualisation of treatment does violence to the psychological and sociological realities of gang delinquency. Individualisation in terms of judicial procedure (choice of procedure is, within certain limits, left to the discretion of the Prosecutor's office) and of pre-sentence observation methods usually ignores one of the most important aspects of the group offender's identity—his corporate identity, which according to Robert is the major criminogenic source of the delinquent act. Robert suggests that the parcellary nature of existent legislation dealing with children, juveniles and young adults, distinguished for various purposes according to multiple and arbitrary age limits, is an additional major impediment to the effective treatment and control of group delinquency. He suggests

instead the elaboration of a new Youth Act (*Code de la Jeunesse*—a suggestion also made in the Belgian study) which would encompass the treatment of offenders from childhood until the age of 25, and which would be subdivided into flexible age categories based upon the scientific study of the social maturation process of the individuals.

Les Blousons Noirs is an empirical and descriptive study of Belgian teddy boys (hooligans would be a more appropriate designation) undertaken following the trial of two gangs called the "Red Devils" and the "Wild Devils," during which the disclosure of the extent and nature of delinquencies committed by them aroused considerable public concern. The project involved (a) intensive study of twenty-one members of the two gangs (total membership twenty-seven), their penal records, their social and family backgrounds, and their psychological constitution, through interviews, clinical assessments and field trips; (b) a more general study of ten other gangs related to these two gangs by geographical propinquity and through occasional joint activities; and (c) a more general analysis of similar gang activities in various parts of Belgium.

Despite the apparent desire of the authors to examine the gangs in a comprehensive fashion at the psychological, social and cultural levels, they fall short of their goal as the whole project is turned into yet another exercise in multiple factorial analysis (a tradition which unlike old soldiers seems neither to die nor to vanish). Consequently, the thrust of the research fails to result in any substantive contribution and the reader finds himself confronted once again with an exposition of well-known conclusions.

What does the reader get out of these books? Beyond the vast (French) sources of bibliographical material (particularly in Robert's book), very little. What strikes the reader is the total lack of a rigorous theoretical framework to guide the discussions or the research, and beneath the polished rhetoric, a poverty of ideas comparable to that of church mice. Furthermore, it is baffling to note the absence of references to contemporary American and British writings in the area of delinquency. Robert refers stringently to Bloch, Neiderhoffer, Thrasher, the Gluecks and Cohen, but no reference to the works of Miller, Sykes Matza, Kobrin, Bordua, Yablonsky, Short Jr., Cloward and Ohlin, Lander, Reckless, Peter Scott, Downes, to name some, is to be found. In the psychological interpretations, besides the much honoured, and in many aspects obsolete, formulations of Piaget, Freud, Redl, Aichhorn, we can find a few words about Moreno, Bales, Lewin, but nothing whatever about the important contributions of Aronfreed, Kohlberg, Walters and Bandura. This is particularly unfortunate, as Robert, for example, constantly emphasises the psychological mechanism of in-group versus out-group conflict as one of the main sources of delinquent group behaviour. If the Belgian teddy boys emulated their American counterparts with gang names such as the Red Devils, the Wild Devils, etc., one may wonder why their academic elders have not instructed themselves in American and English works to give additional scientific impetus to their work.

A further recital of the deficiencies of these books would serve no useful purpose. The parochialism and the "pluralistic ignorance" (a term coined by Matza in his study of delinquency but which appears appropriate to describe

a behaviour pattern among some criminologists) manifestly illustrated in the two books under review prompts us in our desire to conclude on a positive note to suggest the establishment of an international centre for the translation of major criminological works. This might save some of our colleagues from the strenuous effort of breaking through already opened doors, to stimulate international exchange of ideas and data so as to help both the writers and the readers to invest their time more productively.

A. Racine's small, analytic monograph, based on statistical and juridical information about juvenile delinquency in Belgium, has unfortunately appeared too late, as since 1964 the Belgians have introduced major and radical changes into their legislation dealing with juveniles. Therefore, the main value of this monograph would be its eventual use for comparisons of the effects of the old and new legislation. It can be hoped that this kind of study will inspire the Home Office to undertake periodic research of a similar nature so that students of delinquency, as well as agencies involved in this field, will not have to sort out (year in, year out) at great cost and effort (when it can be afforded) from the vast variety of statistics a comprehensive picture of the basic patterns and trends in delinquency, knowledge of which is prerequisite to the formulation of policy decisions and research strategies.

Dogan D. Akman

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDER: JUVENILE PROCEDURES.

By EDWARD ELDEFONSO. [New York: John Wiley. 1967. 346 pp. 56s.]

THIS bland book on police work with youth will have little appeal for either practitioners or academics. Written by a probation officer with a degree in "police science" from a California college, it pretends to be a "comprehensive, integrated" and "authoritative textbook" for prospective cops. The publishers must have assumed that the book will be used by colleges and police academies as a training manual. It is published by John Wiley and Sons, who ordinarily do better.

Part One consists of familiar clichés about increasing crime (complete with italics and exclamation marks), the gospel of preventive criminology ("Every year more than four million new babies are born and a whole new army of potential juvenile delinquents grows up . . ."), and ten typical case histories (abstracted from a thirteen-year-old textbook). Part Two consists of an over-view of various casual theories of crime and an analysis of an ideal police service for youthful offenders. Part Three summarises sociological findings on gangs and examines special problems in the juvenile court.

The author makes no claim to originality but relies on synthesis and abstraction. In this sense, it is quite useful to find a variety of abstracted and verbatim materials assembled in one place. But many of these materials have limited use because pronouncements on delinquency are notoriously ephemeral and depend as much on fashion as on verification. It is unfortunate that the author did not anticipate the reports of the President's Crime

Commission, which includes similar coverage, but with much greater sophistication and scope.

There is not much that can be said in support or criticism of this book. It is a doctrinaire compendium of platitudes and ideal standards. The author presumes that the book will be read by students who are used to rote learning and to mechanically digesting quantities of "knowledge" in preparation for exams. At the end of each chapter are suggested test questions, such as "What is our definition of a delinquent," "Outline a prevention program," "Define *Parens Patriae*," etc., etc. The tone of the whole book is similarly provincial, sophomoric and patronising.

Most police literature is unfortunately preoccupied with the elusive status of professionalism. "Profession" is an honorific title sought by organisations like the police and social workers who feel that they are denied the respect and dignity typically accorded to doctors and lawyers. This author has been co-opted into writing a recipe for professionalism which seriously distorts the realities of a policeman's work world and fails to prepare potential policemen for a job which *systematically* deviates from the ideal standards of a training manual. Sociologists are also guilty of dichotomising police work by expecting policemen to do dirty work and yet keep their souls pure. (However, there does seem to be a trend away from polemics to more empirical studies. See, for example, the work done by Michael Banton on comparative police work, Egon Bittner on the meaning and nature of peace-keeping, Irving Piliavin and Scott Briar on police encounters with adolescents, and Jerome Skolnick on the social organisation of special units within a police department.)

In many ways this is an irresponsible book because it ignores many of the controversial issues facing policemen today. Published in the year of America's worst civil insurrections, it ignores any discussion of civil rights, civilian review boards, or the role of the police in a democratic society. Patrolmen and ghetto youth alike would find this book totally irrelevant to their views of the world:

"At the time I didn't know they was vice squads. They were just dicks to me—detectives. He said, 'Slim, now how many people have you robbed with this gun?'. I said, 'I never robbed anybody.' He said, 'Now, Slim, you know you're lying.' I said, 'Can I ask you a question?'. The other cop jumped up and said, 'You don't ask no mother-fucking questions here. We do the asking.' I just dropped my head and kept quiet. So he said, 'Slim, you gonna tell me how many people you robbed. . . . Take the handcuffs off Slim so I can let all this 200 pounds go upside his head.' . . . 'I haven't robbed anybody.' So he took this little rubber blackjack and hit me in the stomach with it." (Negro youth in Chicago, 1967.) *

"I wouldn't hesitate to shoot and kill a guy if I had to. It would be him or me. It's the law of the jungle here. Every man for himself. The book of (police) regulations is no good to you here. Those fucking

* From the reviewer's field notes.

jokers downtown don't know what it's like to be out on the streets here." (White patrolman in Chicago, 1967.) *

This book is both a defence of police work against the criticism of arm-chair academics, and a soft sell for "democratic" law enforcement: "The need to observe legal rights in the juvenile court does not imply conflict with the court's protective philosophy; neither is it a radical concept. If it were, this view would not be sponsored by such organisations as the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, or the United States Children's Bureau. . ." (p. 210).

The book represents an interesting example of the new mood in police philosophy. There has been a shift in the last ten years or so in official police views about criminality and the warrant has shifted from one emphasising the immoral nature of crime to the "new humanism" which speaks of disease, prevention, contagion and the like. The criminal, especially the juvenile offender, is seen as a kind of object that bears the problems within himself and he can be "tinkered with"—made well. The warrant used is a public health one. Delinquency is a contagious disease; therefore the carriers must be quarantined or isolated from the general population. According to Eldefonso, "the police concept classifies the delinquent as the *statistical delinquent* or *accidental offender* and the *personality-disordered delinquent*. The statistical delinquent is a minor who, through immaturity or through impulsiveness, is involved in a delinquent act although he normally functions well. . . . On the other hand, the personality-disordered delinquent often engages in a series of anti-social acts which necessitates an immediate referral to the Juvenile Probation Department and, in most cases, custodial care or some type of official help appears necessary" (p. 11). It seems unlikely that the change from a simple legal warrant to a medical warrant will alter the fate of delinquents, for the change seems to be nothing more than a change in vocabulary. The medical-motivational view of delinquency is a revised version of the official morality approach: both stress social control and human corruption. The emergence of a medical warrant is of considerable significance, since it seems to be a rationale for organising social action in the most diverse behavioural aspects of our society. Except for the notable contributions of Ernest Becker, Thomas Szasz, Erving Goffman and Michel Foucault, few have explored it as a potentially powerful new warrant for social action. This book especially demonstrates that police work with adolescents has absorbed the rhetoric and practices associated with the "rehabilitative ideal."

Anthony Platt

GAMBLING. Edited by ROBERT D. HERMAN. [London: Harper & Row. 1967. 264 pp. 28s.]

THIS is one of a series of short readers in social problems. The editor has made what seems to be the first attempt to place different criticisms and explanations of gambling in a wide context; however the literature on gambling is so biased

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and so destitute of understanding that no selection of extant articles could do justice to the subject. It is not possible to base a reasonable discussion on articles which, in many cases, display the ignorance and bad faith which were usual in writings on gambling in this country until recently, and are (with honourable exceptions) still common in America.

More than one harmful effect is imputed to gambling. Individual harm is quite well documented, but probably affects only a tiny proportion of gamblers; the problem of over-spending is also found in many more respectable activities. The evil most closely connected with gambling is the ease with which it is possible for a dishonest operator to cheat (*cf.*, transcript of the U.S. Senate hearings); but we need only look at *Rachmanism* to find a close parallel in a reputable part of our economy. There can be no doubt that there are links between gambling and organised crime, which are stronger in America than in this country; but this is a problem inherent in a legal ban on a popular activity. (*Cf.*, Judge Murtagh's article.) The most fundamental objection to gambling is that the values it reflects conflict with the traditional values of a capitalist economy: work, initiative and efficiency. Veblen's thesis assumes that economic advancement through these virtues is open to anyone. But could it be that some types of gambling are typically used by those who cannot improve their economic status in the virtuous way? The two best articles in this book suggest that this is so. Zola relates (illegal) betting to an attempt to beat "the system"—the constraints of life on ordinary people. Herman himself proposes that track betting is a means, for many middle and lower-class men, of participating in economic decision-making from which they are otherwise excluded; a bet is a decision based on knowledge and skill which is reified by the staking of money. It becomes possible to suggest that criticisms of gambling are often criticisms of the repressive aspects of the economic system, and of the luck which is vital to success.

After these two articles in the order of merit come the honest writings of Scodel, Whyte and Judge Murtagh, and the transcript of the U.S. Senate hearings. The rest is mostly vapid journalism or peculiarly nasty moralising. Senator Kennedy can have no excuse for comparing gambling *turnover* with *expenditure* on education; they are quite simply not comparable. Frazier demonstrates the use of an allegation of gambling as a weapon against a social group; in the absence of comparison with other groups, it has no meaning. Starkey displays both these methods of misleading in the course of a shameful Methodist attack on gambling and the Catholic Church. We are fortunate that in this country the Churches' Council on Gambling is honest, and not prone to insupportable criticism. One does not envy the editor his task of choosing articles. His intention to show the range of arguments, and the negative relationship between understanding and opposition, would have succeeded better if there had been a critique of the arguments; as it is, the book may mislead part of the wide readership for which it is presumably intended.

Peter Stone

MIDDLE-CLASS JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. Edited by EDMUND W. VAZ. [London: Harper & Row. 1967. 289 pp. 32s.]

THIS book is a collection of articles and essays (some specially written) which are intended as supplementary reading for American students following courses in Social Problems and Juvenile Delinquency. Authors include James Coleman, Albert Cohen, Jessie Bernard, Ivan Nye, James Short, Jr., Marshall Clinard, Robert Bohlke and others with international reputations in the criminological field. The fare is hence rich and varied, the topic new and stimulating and, if uncertainty still remains at the end of the day, this is largely due to the fact that so far little valid empirical research has been directed to the activities (delinquent or otherwise) of middle-class children. Hunches, partial surveys, self-report studies have had to take the place of carefully planned investigations of representative groups and populations. To some degree this is the perennial condition of the social sciences and one reason, amongst others, why the novels of writers such as Salinger, MacInnes and Sillitoe are as useful and illuminating as the deeply brooded theories of Talcott Parsons or the elegant insights of Robert K. Merton. But we almost certainly know a lot more about the crimes and peccadilloes of lower-class youth than we do about the delinquencies and aberrations of higher income and higher status group children. It is a further illustration of Sprott's old point that the doings of dustmen are public knowledge while the junketing of judges is shrouded in secrecy. Middle-class culture and society is by tradition addicted to privacy, and this protective veil covers infringements of the legal and other normative codes just as successfully as it does financial and other desperately important matters. We all know that the criminal statistics are gigantically fallacious, but with all their defects most of us would be of the opinion that juvenile delinquency—as a defined social problem—is much more conspicuous in slums and on new housing estates than it is in suburbia. But is this an erroneous view? Do middle-class families and schoolmasters cover up more successfully than lower-class parents? Do the police prosecute poorer and rougher people more readily than they do the better off and smoother folk? Is there a class bias against lower-class and in favour of higher-class groups and individuals in this business of arrest and prosecution as in most other human and social affairs? Is crime an invention of the middle classes which they have neatly foisted on their social inferiors in order to keep them in their places or in order to deflect attention from their own shortcomings and rackets? Are the offences most characteristic of lower-class people stigmatised as crimes while those more characteristic of middle-class people treated as civil offences, unfortunate aberrations and mere lapses from the grace of the code? And do we, in our role as parents, tend to pounce on the delinquencies of coloured children, immigrants, slummies, etc., seeing them as manifestations of spite, negativism, senseless aggression and so on, while palliating the escapades of our own children as high spirits, fun-seeking romps and wild-oat-sowing which they will soon outgrow?

There are, of course, no answers to these questions, and Dr. Vaz's collation, even spiced with his *obiter dicta* and marginal comments, will not provide

them for the student reader. But this book does open up such issues and has, as a result, a slightly heady effect, a feeling of stretching frontiers and of new vistas. We come up against and are left with the fundamental question of whether or not we require a different kind of theory to account for the delinquencies of middle-class and working-class children. And, if we do, what an odd thing it is. Delinquency appears in this light more as the artefact of social structure than of human behaviour in relation to moral principles. But can this be true? Is there no meaning any longer in the idea of right as opposed to wrong? Can we never again talk, except in the context of conditioned exasperation (for which we are not responsible), of a bad boy who does harmful things as a result of causes for which he can be held to be to some extent responsible, in any meaningful way?

There must be a way through all this confusion somewhere. I am left personally with an irritating question in my own mind about the moral basis of a society which can send a thirteen-year-old boy to an approved school for, say, a shoplifting offence and there expose him to the sadistic and sexually criminal attentions of a custodian who represents the authority of the outraged community. Reading the extracts in Dr. Vaz's book and keeping an eye on the daily press, I must confess to a vast uneasiness in my own mind about the whole business of crime and its punishment, of delinquency and its treatment in British and American society. There is something amiss that I doubt even the social survey will ever cure!

John Mays

SEXUAL DEVIANCE. Edited by JOHN H. GAGNON and WILLIAM SIMON. [London: Harper and Row. 1967. 310 pp. 32s. 6d.]

ONLY the more acceptable deviances are considered in this book. In recent years many people have learnt to view prostitution and homosexuality with understanding and tolerance; but incest, exhibitionism, child molesting, and sado-masochistic activities are harder to explain or to tolerate.

There are two papers by Professor Reiss. In the earlier one he notes the extra difficulties put in the way of the adolescent who is sexually deviant. He points out that there is a tendency to deal more punitively with adolescents than with adults who commit similar sexual offences. The new homosexual law is an example of this; furthermore many girls have not committed any offence when they are taken into care, but sexual irregularities are often the unstated reason. The other piece by Reiss is a description of a particular type of homosexual prostitution more common in America but not unknown here. This is when older adults seek out "hustlers" (even the word for them is American) who allow specific and limited homosexual acts but abhor any kind of affective relationship with another man; indeed it is their apparent heterosexuality and their excessive masculinity that makes them attractive to the older homosexuals. These youths and young men would be very indignant if it was suggested either that they were queer or on the game, and

Reiss concludes that most of them soon give up these practices to become husbands and fathers.

The three reprinted papers on female prostitution include an excerpt from Wayland Young's *Eros Denied* and a discussion on the prostitute's self-image and system of values. The third piece on the apprenticeships of call girls seems to show that it is a fairly unskilled profession despite the extensive folk-lore on the art of prostitution.

Two of the three papers on the homosexual community date from 1956 and 1961. There have been many useful reports published since then which the editors have ignored. Mrs. Hooker's paper is part of a long-promised study of homosexuality. She has been working on this for over ten years to my knowledge and my eager anticipation for what is obviously going to be a detailed and careful report is mixed with envy that the U.S. Public Health Service should support this research for so long, and with displeasure that so much valuable material should remain unpublished for so long.

One of the only two papers previously unpublished is a description of the gay bars of San Francisco by Nancy Achilles in which she makes the interesting point that the behaviour is more circumspect in these bars which are open and well-known than in the Chicago gay bars which are hard to find, "but once you get in you can do almost anything." The other new paper is a tentative article on female homosexuality based on unstructured interviews with a small number of Lesbians.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is the introduction and an excellent paper on sexual learning in the child, both by the editors. But I wish they had done a bit more editing. They could surely have cut Reiss's description of an adolescent world that no longer exists (nothing changes more quickly than the superficial details of the teenage scene) and those protests about the lack of adequate material on male homosexuality which may have been true ten years ago but are no longer justified.

Michael Schofield

FRONTIERS OF CRIMINOLOGY. Edited by HUGH J. KLARE and DAVID HAXBY.
[Oxford. Pergamon Press. 1967. 147 pp. 45s.]

IN convening the British Congress on Crime in September 1966 the planning committee, whose chairman is one of the editors of this slim book, elected to bring together a wide range of delegates including many who were "only marginally concerned with criminal behaviour." Useful as this procedure might have been, one unhappy consequence was that any attempt to summarise the papers delivered at such a mixed gathering was bound to result in an uneven, superficial product.

The book contains three short "keynote lectures" printed in their entirety. They are: "A Century of Causal Theory" by Nigel Walker, "Research and Research Methods" by T. S. Lodge, and "Individualisation and Involvement in Treatment and Prevention" by R. L. Morrison. Each of these is supplemented by brief summaries of several other reports presumably related to the

topic at hand. The summaries are composed of edited abstracts supplied by the original authors and, additionally, notes from rapporteurs. The resulting jumble of materials will strike most readers of this *Journal* as very second-hand and abbreviated. Any hope that these 128 pages of text might describe a clear picture of the "frontiers" of criminology is certain to be dashed. A good, recent textbook in criminology would supply the same breadth with more details and precise references to recent research and conceptual perspectives—and do the job more systematically—than this summary of proceedings. Of course, this book is not presented as a textbook, but it is difficult to imagine what alternative purpose it might serve except that of reminding attenders (who are listed in the appendix) of some of the highlights of the formal parts of the programme. The absence of an index and of full citations in the shorter papers will frustrate efforts to use the book for serious reference. Most of the findings of research reports are verbally summarised; tables and figures are infrequent. Some lecturers mentioned investigations not yet completed, and occasional references were made to preliminary impressions, but, again, relevant evidence was often too sketchy or entirely missing.

The British Congress on Crime predictably undertook the task of publicising many of the standard hopes and dogmas of post-war criminologists. Several lecturers pleaded for greater co-ordination of services, more refined lists of administrative priorities, more fruitful research, more active use of volunteer workers, and more thorough and sophisticated community organisation. But these ideas have been heard before, and it seems unlikely that this book will enhance the cause of publicity. If the proceedings of conferences are to be recorded, conventional, soft-covered or mimeographed selections of materials might be more appropriate than this type of costly book with its pretentious title. This may be an example of the right message but the wrong medium.

Robert D. Herman

DELINQUENCY PREVENTION: THEORY AND PRACTICE. Edited by W. E. AMOS and C. F. WELLFORD. • [New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1967. 254 pp. 48s.]

DESPITE the good intentions of the editors to provide a survey of preventive theory and practice, this book is mainly tedious and repetitive. It certainly shows the almost complete lack of data both on the way preventive programmes operate (rather than the way they are assumed to work) and on their effectiveness in reducing crime.

The essays review some general ideas on prevention and prediction and analyse and describe in separate chapters efforts at prevention through the family, religion, the school, recreation, the economic structure and the police. Most contributors make a short review of delinquency theory, describe some projects and conclude that nothing is known about their effectiveness. There is here a lot of verbosity, generalising and repetition. The whole volume is

conceived within the sociological frame of reference which emphasises the need to direct prevention "through the mobilisation and organisation of forces at the social system level." Such action operating on the local community (or to create a local community) must, the editors stress, receive the support of Government agencies.

None of the articles is outstanding; but the general review of types of current programmes by Sullivan and Bash is useful in clarifying some confusions over the objectives of prevention programmes—whether they be individuals, institutions, groups or agencies or attempts to change social policy. Of the others, those dealing with the school and the economic structure show clearly the influence of sub-cultural theory in American practice. The problems of changing values through the school, of giving equal educational opportunity, of improving employability, of enhancing "the self-concept of the delinquency prone child," as well as ensuring full employment through economic policy, are enormous. Whether these kinds of changes can be made without a radical and far-reaching concomitant change in American society—its structure and ideology—seems extremely doubtful. The kinds of preventive action most of the contributors are discussing imply such political action. However, the kind of action needed is not discussed by any of the authors. Yet, this is perhaps understandable when one remembers the attempts to label workers in the Mobilisation for Youth Programme as communists.

Roger Hood

CARING FOR PEOPLE. National Institute for Social Work Training Series.
[London: George Allen and Unwin. 1967. 222 pp. 32s.]

THE Williams Committee which produced this report was concerned with homes, schools or institutions for children or adolescents temporarily or permanently without a home; for mentally and physically handicapped or delinquent children; for mentally or physically handicapped adults; for mothers and young children; and for the old.

Existing facilities were surveyed, as were conditions of work, career structure and training. What emerged was the familiar and depressing picture of not enough residential care staff, often working in poor accommodation, with a lack of privacy, insufficient holidays, frequently without real prospects and even more often without training. Approved schools staff, incidentally, emerge from the survey well in the sense that a relatively high proportion are qualified: only 44 per cent. have no qualifications whatever, as opposed to 62 per cent. in special schools. Approved schools for Boys, whether junior, intermediate or senior, have an average size of ninety-two which is three times as large as the equivalent for girls. Only one-fifth of resident care staff in approved schools for senior boys are unmarried, but 90 per cent. of such staff are unmarried in all types of approved schools for girls.

The real point of the Report, however, is to suggest improved recruitment, a carefully organised career structure and a training system, with a two-year course for younger new entrants or staff already in post, and a one-year course

for the older ones. These are to be held at Colleges of Further Education. Advanced courses at universities and in-service training are also envisaged. The initial training courses would be generic since residential work has certain features in common, whatever the setting. The two-year course is envisaged with the same curriculum for everyone in the first part; and different options (children, the elderly, the physically handicapped, the socially handicapped) in the second part. A new national training body is suggested which would develop training and award qualifications.

Although borstals, prisons, remand and detention centres were excluded from the terms of reference of the Williams Committee, the training experience which will eventually be gained if these recommendations are implemented would be relevant to the prison service also. Whatever special considerations, in terms of security, etc., apply, there are also many similarities. Techniques of teaching human growth and development or social and group relations should be watched, compared and kept similar. Perhaps there could also be an interchange of teaching staff.

Hugh J. Klare

POLICE: A SOCIAL STUDY. The Churches' Board for Social Responsibility.
[London: Church Information Office. 1967. 80 pp. 5s.]

CRIMINOLOGICAL and penological research started late, but are developing quickly; by comparison, research into police matters has barely begun. This booklet is the work of a committee of the Churches' Board for Social Responsibility, mainly composed of senior clergy and police officers (it is a matter for regret that none of the four police force members is of a rank lower than Commander). It raises a number of complex sociological, legal, ethical and constitutional questions, and although few people (and, in particular, few policemen) will disagree with its views, like other such committees' reports it suffers from an absence of new research or radical solutions.

Clergy and policemen have much in common today. The guardians of tradition attempting to come to terms with modern changes, both are short of recruits and both often feel they are fighting a losing battle. Their families are in a similar social position: both are expected never to be off duty, together with their wives and homes; both are expected to "set an example"; both are easily recognised and often politely shunned except by the garrulous or the distraught; neither can plan their social life or holidays with any certainty; and both are liable to be transferred, with consequent dislocation for their children's schooling. The parallel will be carried a stage further with the police's adoption of an urban parish system which was pioneered at Crawley and has now been successfully developed at Accrington and elsewhere; it is surprising that the Committee does not mention the "neighbourhood policeman" scheme which one would expect them to welcome warmly. One would also have liked to read in this report a clear statement of their view on the boundary between morals and law. (Why should conspiracy to commit immorality be illegal when immorality is not?) The blasphemy laws are

surprisingly not mentioned; and it would have been interesting to have had a forthright discussion of the issues raised by the recent Brighton Church case.

The report rightly urges the necessity for more non-white immigrant police officers, and welcomes the penal trend towards (New Testament) redemption rather than (Old Testament) punishment—of which the conciliation procedure of the Race Relations Act is an important new development.

Ben Whitaker

A MAN OF GOOD ABILITIES. By TONY PARKER. [London: Hutchinson. 1967. 206 pp. 30s.]

WHAT on earth is the good of sending back to prison over and over again an amiable rogue with no more than an embryonic conscience? That, superficially speaking, is what this book is about. It is well worth reading, if only to have a glimpse of what a persistent criminal thinks about crime and criminology. But, needless to say, any book by Tony Parker digs much deeper than that. With the sympathy of a man who truly understands the lonely anguish of the criminal mind, he probes into its depths and puts on record what he finds.

His "Norman Edwards" is a compulsive swindler. He is an egotist and an exhibitionist, who swindles out of sheer craving for the self-flattery which it affords to his ego. Outwardly withdrawn and inhibited, he peers and sneers at our unimaginative and gullible society from behind the mask in which is his one delight. It is the joy of outwitting his fellow creatures that spurs him on from crime to crime. As for the money which he attracts . . . nothing really big (he considers), only a mere £40,000 or so in all . . . that is just by the way. When he is not "inside," a little creature comfort, perhaps more than a little beer, and the means to carry out the next swindle, are all that he needs. He is now aged sixty-five, has recently been released from serving eight years' preventive detention, latterly in a prison hostel, and has spent the better part of his adult life in prison. The unusual feature in all this is that he comes from an eminently stable background; a comfortable middle-class home, parents happily married, steadily religious and reasonably permissive, understanding, tolerant and forgiving. Two elder sisters and a younger brother have all gone conventionally "straight." He is the one black sheep.

Is the fact that prison has left him undeterred and unrepentant of itself, as he would have one believe, an indictment of the entire prison system? The author offers this question to the reader for an answer. But is the case of "Norman Edwards" one from which any general conclusions should ever be drawn? Of course there is no likelihood that further periods of confinement will change the attitudes of a man who has spent his life studying to be trusted for the mere thrill of betraying the trust which he has gained. Such an obsession as his may be a psychological disease. If it is, no cure has yet been found for it. Meanwhile, as between this sick man and his unoffending fellow-beings on whom it is his joy to prey, can there be any doubt which should have to pay the heavier price?

REVIEWS

There is much to criticise in the practice of imprisonment. But, as regards the penological problem of the merits or demerits of the prison system, the case of "Norman Edwards" is not one which provides any helpful clue to the answer.

Walter Raeburn

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EDITORIAL

As Sir Joseph Simpson explains, the juvenile delinquent minority presents a major police problem in the Metropolis. On the average between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of all persons arrested for indictable crimes are juveniles, and indictable crimes are not the whole extent of the problem. There is the problem of the "unattached" youth on the brink of delinquency who, if discovered at a very early age, can be redirected on to the right path. There is a small but significant proportion of the younger element of the community which appears to have lost all coherent relationships with the adult generations, and engages in what sociologists might term "retreatist behaviour." The role of the police in attempts to prevent and treat juvenile delinquency has never been precisely defined, says Sir Joseph; it should be re-examined in the light of modern progressive thinking.

He believes that a fundamental reappraisal of the methods of dealing with juvenile delinquency is required, for the present system "does not seem to have worked." In any new system, the police must have an important role to play, concerned as they necessarily are with the prevention of crime. They must see this in wider terms than mere deterrence and detection; new concepts of policing suggest a more positive function involving not only drawing attention to youngsters who have shown signs of incipient delinquency, but sharing in the consultations which take place about the steps to be taken. The time has come, the Commissioner argues, for local authorities to strengthen the liaison between the police and the welfare departments concerned with the control of juvenile delinquency. In order to

enable them to make the best possible contribution in this matter, the police will need to reorganise and to specialise more in this work. "The need for such a specialised police service has long been recognised in many other progressive countries."

The main thrust of the Commissioner's argument is for a greater share in the decision making about juveniles in danger of becoming delinquent or already engaging in crime. He is careful to state explicitly that he is not proposing that the police should become social workers, or that they should usurp the functions of the social and welfare services. There is much that is unclear about the details of the scheme proposed, but no doubt a reasonable and reasoned case can be made for police involvement. The Ingleby Report does not seem to support the argument, for it rejected the notion of police developing more in the direction of the juvenile liaison schemes. And the comprehensive reorganisation of the personal social services which is now confidently predicted as a result of the Seebohm Committee's labours may leave less room than at present for police involvement. Perhaps what is sought is consultative status, rather than the right to decide what should be done and a police share in the decision itself. So viewed, it may be acceptable. But the police must first win the confidence of those concerned with the handling of behaviour problems in children and young persons. They might do this more easily if the Commissioner's far-sighted, liberal and intelligent vision of the specialised officer comes to be realised. The new role of the specialised officer will not be an easy one. Such an officer will in fact have to work not only with the police in the context of their general assumptions about detection and prosecution of offenders, but also with social workers who come to the child welfare task with assumptions about the welfare of children and families. Clearly there will be formidable difficulties facing police officers who seek to combine these several roles.

Until very recently "recidivism" has had an artificially restricted meaning, even for penologists. The recidivist has been thought of as "the offender who neither mends his ways spontaneously nor learns to avoid detection, and is neither deterred by the experience of conviction nor reformed by any of the measures in the court's repertoire." Penal legislation, by providing special prison sentences for offenders with substantial criminal records, has focused attention on a rather special minority—the multiple recidivist whose offences take the form of theft or some other indictable offence. Other forms of recidivism—

notably the chronic drunk and the repeated infringer of traffic laws—have in consequence been virtually ignored.

Towards the end of the 1950s, however, the Prison Commissioners' psychologists turned their attention to a problem of more general importance. Instead of asking what distinguished the man with a long prison record from the rest, they realised that a more profitable question to answer would be: "What distinguishes the man who returns to prison after his first experience of it from the man who does not?" (Not long afterwards, Dr. R. G. Andry, following Dr. Mannheim's leadership, independently set out to answer a similar question in the research which he reported in *The Short-term Prisoner* (1963).) The penological importance of the question is obvious. The man who fails to respond to the strongest measure in the courts' power is likely to become a chronic problem to the penal system. What can be done for him is another question, to which we may not yet know the answer; but we have little hope of doing anything for him until we can identify him with some degree of probability at an early stage in his career.

When the first report of the prison psychologists' investigation was privately circulated some time ago, it was at once plain that the results were of very great interest. They are now published for the first time in the article in this issue by Mrs. Blackler. As she herself is the first to point out, the chief value of some of the findings is that they suggest further questions for investigation. Moreover, although she refers to men who return to prison as "primary recidivists," most "stars" have already at least one previous experience of being convicted (usually leading to a fine or a discharge). In a strict scientific sense, primary recidivism begins with the second conviction irrespective of the sentence: see, for example, Miss Callard's article on primary recidivism among juveniles in the January 1967 issue of this *Journal*. (In some cases it can be said to begin with failure to respond to a police warning.) This terminological point, however, in no way detracts from the value of Mrs. Blackler's article. It is to be hoped that more of the work of the Prison Department's psychologists will be the subject of published reports, whether as part of the well-known Home Office Studies in the Causes and Treatment of Delinquency, or in a separate series.

Very little research is devoted to the problem of female offenders of any age. The criminal courts, necessarily the most conservative

sections of public opinion, tend to regard most women offenders as the tools of some more determined male, or as representing a very small threat to public order and safety; in either case, they can be treated more leniently than males. The feminist revolt against this attitude has unfortunately not progressed far beyond insisting that whatever penal methods are used for men must be available for women, whether in the form of approved schools, detention centres, borstals or prisons, however inappropriate the masculine pattern of these forms of treatment may be to the actual problems of women in society. Dr. Taylor's careful study of tattooing in borstal girls underlines these sex differences; it has never been suggested that tattooing in men is due to homosexuality, homelessness or long periods in institutions. He is careful to avoid any speculative extension of his findings, or he might have commented upon possible connections with the scratching and self-laceration, wrist-slashing and attempted suicide that are so frequent in women offenders, even perhaps the blood-letting involved in drug addiction. There are clearly profound differences between the sexes in the balance between the cultural and psychopathological factors in crime, and presumably in its treatment.

Observant readers of this *Journal* may have noticed that a change has been made in the editorial arrangements, as from the January 1968 number. To help with the growing responsibilities of the editorial work, four well-known persons in the field, Professor T. C. N. Gibbens, Mr. R. L. Morrison, Professor J. C. Spencer and Dr. Nigel Walker, have agreed to join our team, as Associate Editors, and the title of Assistant Editor has been dropped. We hope that these distinguished accessions to the editorial strength will help to ensure that the *Journal* maintains its high standard, and provides in the future even better service to its readers, and indeed to its contributors, on whom we rely so much.

OBITUARY

JAMES A. HADFIELD, M.A.(Oxon), M.B.(Edin.)

THE death, in September 1967, at the age of eighty-four, of Dr. James Hadfield, who in his time helped to develop the original "Psychopathic Clinic" of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency

and contributed generously to the administrative and scientific direction of the I.S.T.D., severs one of the few remaining links with that period of gestation of clinical psychology in Britain which was then described as "Medical Psychology" or as "Psychological Medicine."

No doubt many of our readers, familiar with the present-day connotations of the term "psychiatry", may feel that the emphasis on "medical psychology" has a certain antiquarian flavour. And of course in the first decade of this century there were not only a sufficiency of neuro-alienists seeking to cope with the insanities, but a smaller and more isolated group of empiricists who, following in the then rather unpopular train of hypnotic techniques, dealt, to their own surprise effectively, with what we now know to be "hysterical" states. What should be recognised, however, is that when from 1900 onwards new ideas about mental function and disorder began ever so slowly to infiltrate a country which was already receptive to the teachings of W. McDougall, one of the new acolytes was none other than James Hadfield. During the first war (1914-18) he had, along with some colleagues who also deserve honourable mention, taken a hand in the treatment of "shell shock", subsequently described as "war shock" or "traumatic neurosis."

Prior to this (1906-1912) Dr. Hadfield was a minister to a Congregational Church in Edinburgh (his father was a missionary in the Loyalty Islands in the South Pacific) but, influenced no doubt by his experiences in the handling of mental conflict, he followed in the footsteps of Havelock Ellis and in 1916 obtained a medical degree at Edinburgh University. After the usual hospital appointments and service in the Navy, the R.A.M.C., and as a teacher at the Neurological Hospital, Oxford, subsequently at Birmingham University as lecturer and psycho-therapist, he took his professional life in his hands and moved in 1920 or thereabouts to the jungle thickets of Harley Street.

The result was a foregone conclusion. His reputation as an "analytical psychologist" and as a teacher had preceded him. From that time until his semi-retirement a few years ago, he conducted a successful practice and established a lasting reputation as a tutor to those students who wished to embark on a career in psychotherapy. Of his many appointments, perhaps the most outstanding were those as Director of Studies at the Tavistock Clinic and as Chairman of the Medical Section of the British Psychological Society. But he functioned also as a lecturer to many well known institutions—the

Bethlem Hospital, King's College, Birkbeck College, the Institute of Education and many other organisations. Perhaps the most fruitful of his educational activities was the development of a seminar conducted privately in his Hampstead home, attended by a group of followers, many of whom subsequently carved a reputation in various branches of psycho-therapeutic endeavour, amongst them Drs. Crowhurst Archer, E. A. Bennett, W. Bion, Leonard Browne and H. V. Dicks. This in fact came to be known as the "Hadfield Group" or "School". During the Second World War, although over age, he was gazetted Lieut.-Colonel in the R.A.M.C. and worked at the Psychiatric Department of an army hospital in Somerset.

It has often been a matter for regret that, although a fluent speaker and a ready teacher, Hadfield was, curiously enough, reluctant to commit his views to print. Nevertheless, the few books he published have retained their standing for over forty years, as witness his *Psychology and Morals* published first in 1920 and still a standard work on the subject.

Although this is but a brief and inadequate account of his various activities and affiliations it goes far to explain why the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency feels a lasting obligation to him for his timely help in the early days of its organisation. As a matter of interest it was Dr. Hadfield who was responsible for the original title of the Institute's Clinic. The naming of this new venture was a difficult problem to overcome and at the time Dr. Hadfield's suggestion was in the nature of an inspiration. Since then of course the term "psychopathy" has lost some of its former broad connotations and become a label for a limited group of disorders, some of whose members manifest "criminal" tendencies.

As has been indicated, Dr. Hadfield also assisted materially in the administrative and scientific organisation of the I.S.T.D. But this bare statement describes very inadequately the wise counsel he proffered so freely. He was a man of quick and penetrating judgment, at his very best when some seemingly insoluble problem confronted the Council or Scientific Committee of the Institute. Those who were privileged to work with him—a diminishing number, alas!—can testify to the high regard in which they held him and will suffer a sense of loss mitigated only by the recognition of his work through a long, fruitful and devoted professional career.

Edward Glover

THE POLICE AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY *

Sir JOSEPH SIMPSON (*London*) †

SOME may argue that the *treatment*, if not the study, of delinquency is outside the proper function of the police in this country; but no-one would deny that the police function includes the identification of delinquency when it occurs and the setting in motion of formal treatment processes. Perhaps, as I may show, it goes even further. For this reason I have overcome my inhibitions in accepting the honour of addressing you today.

I am aware that the interests of this Institute extend over the whole range of delinquency; but delinquency among juveniles has loomed increasingly large in recent years and so I hope that I shall be forgiven if I restrict myself to the role of the police in connection with this particular aspect of delinquency in order, I hope, to do greater justice to what would otherwise be far too wide a subject to cover within the time at our disposal.

The Problems of Juvenility

Juvenility has always presented problems, but never more than in modern Britain. We are, I am sure, all aware of the plight of children no more than a century ago but legislation—particularly during the twentieth century—has freed them from conditions of near slavery and the door has been opened for complete, or near complete, emancipation of the young.

I think it will be accepted that today's youth matures, both physically and mentally, earlier than his predecessors; but despite the many apparent benefits of life in our modern society, and despite the wonderful contribution made by so many of our young people to that society, there is much maladjustment and delinquency among young persons. Anti-social acts are commonplace and convention is flouted. No simple explanation for this behaviour can be given, although for years social scientists and others have tackled the problem. Various

* Address given at the Annual General Meeting of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency. November 21, 1967.

† K.B.E., Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis. (When this paper was in course of publication, the Editors learned, with deep regret, of the death of Sir Joseph Simpson on March 20, 1968.)

reasons have been put forward by agencies concerned with the problem. Greed, selfishness, malice, lack of parental control, boredom are among the many factors which contribute, but perhaps freedom and ability to think—however crookedly—are the most important.

Today's youngsters are probably not much different from their predecessors, having the same basic needs and drives. Of the small percentage who lapse into delinquency, most are confused, frightened, unhappy people in need of help. But what is vastly different today is the world in which these children are growing up. Never before has the pace of change been so rapid, both in our values and the manner in which we live. Atomic power, ventures into space, the thrust towards automation, shifting cultural patterns, increasing population, family mobility, the incalculable influence of mass media in shaping reality for youngsters, and shrinking needs for unskilled workers—these are just some of the ingredients of our way of life which strike the young with tremendous impact.

Despite much speculation over the causes of juvenile delinquency, there has been too little research into the subject. What research has been undertaken is of such recent origin that it will be some considerable time before conclusive results can emerge. As was so rightly pointed out in the Introduction to the I.S.T.D. Annual Report for 1965/66, it is only during the past ten years or so that criminology has developed from sporadic exercises in empirical experiment towards something more of an exact science. However, if the well-being of future generations is to be assured, it must be hoped that research and experience will continue to reveal more about causes and more about the effectiveness of remedial and preventive—and I emphasise that adjective—measures.

Problems of the Metropolis

Fortunately, the majority of young people pass through childhood and adolescence without offending society, but the delinquent minority present a major police problem. The Metropolitan Police District comprises an area of some 750 square miles with a population in excess of eight million. With such a large area and relatively dense population, it is hardly surprising that the known rate of juvenile delinquency should have been causing concern to successive Commissioners, and not least to me, if only by sheer weight of numbers which have steadily increased over the years—but of course we have not been insensitive to the tragedy which lies behind those figures.

By way of illustration, in the ten years from 1956 to 1965, the number of juveniles between ten and seventeen arrested in the Metropolis for indictable offences rose from 6,800 to 11,100. Last year showed an improvement—a drop to 10,250—for which the gradual disappearance of the birth rate bulge may be at least partly responsible. On the average, between 20 and 30 per cent. of all persons arrested for indictable crimes were *juveniles*, including the under ten year-olds, who represented only about one-tenth of the total population. In other words, for any given number of persons in the community, at least twice as many juveniles are likely to be arrested for indictable offences as adults.

Some Specific Problems and Symptoms

Indictable crimes alone are not, however, the whole extent of the problem of delinquency among our youth. Disturbing though it is that about half the persons arrested for breaking into premises with criminal intent are under twenty-one, there are other manifestations of an even deeper malaise than is to be found in the overt commission of crime. "Mods and rockers," "beatniks," "flower children," "hippies" and others, whatever name is given to them, and the increase in drug-taking, especially amphetamines and the like, are phenomena which have manifested themselves in recent years and I am quite certain that there is no need, in this company, to enlarge upon the problems of this nature which have arisen.

A problem which probably arises more in a densely populated area like London than anywhere else is that of "unattached" youth on the brink of delinquency who, if discovered at a very early stage, can be redirected on to the right path. This is a *comparatively* small group but one which understandably attracts maximum attention. Many young people "on the run" either from the "law" or their families tend to drift into large cities, and particularly into London. Because they wish to remain anonymous, they do not obtain lodgings and employment in the normal way and they tend to get drawn to undesirable environments where they are reasonably assured of being able to lose themselves. However, almost inevitably they are exposed to crime, drug-taking, prostitution and vice generally and it can be only those with the strongest character, or who have been discovered and put on the right path at a very early stage, who can come through such an experience unscathed. These young people are in the "twilight" between respectability and criminality.

Young people who, especially at weekends, come to the West End of London from the suburbs, and often from much further afield, to spend the weekend in "beat clubs" and the like present a somewhat similar problem. More often than not they come from respectable homes and their parents have no idea what they are doing, fondly imagining that they are spending the night with friends. Many who live within easy reach intend to return home late at night but more often than not find that they have missed the last bus or train. They wander about throughout the night, or worse remain in the clubs dancing, sometimes snatching some sleep on the floor. In order to keep up this pace, they often turn to pep drugs. Whole weekends are spent taking amphetamines as a kind of "cultural performance." Their main object seems to be to get as much into the weekend as they can, and they swallow perhaps thirty Drinamyl on Saturday to keep them awake all night, and then again on Sunday. After about three weeks of this they lose their jobs on Monday and then the real trouble starts.

Teenaged beatniks, hippies and the like are not confined to any one ethnic group, social class or walk of life. They fall broadly into three main categories:

- (1) student types, who embrace nearly all the social classes;
- (2) destitute persons, some of whom have come out of prison or borstal and have not been rehabilitated; and
- (3) between these extremes there is the group of people who have left home, appear to have no aim in life and who cannot be bothered to work. They have little incentive to change their way of life and, with no employment and few possessions, appear to enjoy their lack of responsibilities.

What motivates young people to behave in this manner is difficult to assess. It might be an over-simplification to say that the student group may merely wish to draw attention to themselves by their dress, general appearance and by simply being different. Those coming out of prison or borstal are probably disillusioned because they can't find employment and feel that they have been rejected by society. The remainder are probably what might be regarded as "social misfits," possibly from unhappy home backgrounds and with very little security in childhood.

If any pattern can be seen to emerge, it is that a small but significant proportion of the younger element in our community appears to have lost all coherent relationship with the adult

generation and feels a complete sense of rejection, probably resulting from a breakdown in family relationships.

The Role of the Police

The role of the police in attempts to prevent and treat juvenile delinquency has never been precisely defined and has, in any event, been subject to change over the years. It is, or should be, constantly re-examined in the light of modern progressive thinking and, indeed, there could be opportunity for far-reaching changes in the not too distant future.

From the institution of modern police forces in this country up to the early part of this century, young people found committing many minor offences were dealt with, more often than not, informally and on the spot by way of the "constabular rebuke or cuff."

But the advent of juvenile courts provided, for the first time, specific legal machinery for dealing with juvenile offenders both formally and in a humane and understanding way. The ultimate aim of such courts has always been to ensure that offenders were treated in a way which would prevent them from becoming criminals. There have been many who considered that if the police took it upon themselves to deal with young offenders for the first offence, or in mild cases, by way of warning, they might subsequently be accused of having spoiled the best chance of reclamation by not bringing the case before the court which, with its trained advisers and practitioners, was designed to provide the correct treatment.

So there developed the philosophy in most police minds that the only proper way to deal with juvenile offenders was to take them before a court. It is true that many forces chose, and still continue, to administer official cautions for very minor first offences, but there were many districts where a youngster caught, for example, "scrumping" in an orchard would find himself before a juvenile court charged with theft.

Even in the means by which youngsters are brought before a court for criminal offences there is considerable variation in different parts of the country. In some areas there is a general rule that juveniles are summoned while in others they are normally arrested and charged in much the same way as adults. Supporters of the summoning procedure argue that decisions to prosecute can be taken by officers of reasonable seniority and in the light of much more information than is available to the relatively junior officer in charge of a station at

the time that a juvenile is arrested, who has to make a decision on the spot. On the other hand, it is argued that arrest ensures that a juvenile is taken before a court much more swiftly and that the entire proceedings thereby have considerably greater impact.

Prosecution, or cautioning in certain cases, disposes at any rate temporarily of offenders against the criminal law: but what of the unattached drifters, the incipient delinquents, the weekend "beat and drug" set and the like who may be in moral danger but who have not yet been detected in the commission of crime? One may well ask what the police are doing about young people in these circumstances.

In some parts of the West End of London, which attract the weekend "beat and drug" set, juvenile sweeps are carried out by police, in the course of which youngsters under seventeen who are clearly away from home all night are taken to the police station and their parents sent for. The purpose is to bring the facts to the notice of parents and inform them of the moral danger to which the juveniles are exposed. The vast majority of parents are grateful that this action is taken and evidence of its effectiveness may be found in the fact that less than 1 per cent. are caught up in subsequent sweeps. However, where youngsters come to notice in this way on a second or subsequent occasion, they are almost invariably taken before a juvenile court as being in need of care, protection or control.

Whenever a juvenile comes to the notice of police, for whatever reason, the circumstances are communicated to the Children's Officer of the local authority concerned. However, police themselves take youngsters before the courts for care, protection or control in urgent cases, after consulting the local authorities to ensure that some action is not being taken already. In this way police are enabled to remove youngsters from an undesirable environment when circumstances demand immediate action.

Police are also aware of the activity of the many "unattached" workers and organisations who work with youth; but police co-operation tends to be passive, confined largely to deliberate inactivity insofar as it is consistent with their duty to maintain law and order, so as to enable the detached workers to pursue their attempts to reach and communicate with drifters and incipient delinquents.

On the whole, therefore, police action at present tends to be of a formal and authoritarian nature, aimed principally at the detection and prosecution of juvenile offenders. But whatever the historical reasons for the development of the thesis that the juvenile court is the

only right place for juvenile offenders, we must face the fact that the treatment does not seem to have worked. I hope that I shall not be misunderstood, for I do not wish to imply criticism of juvenile courts, which are staffed by people devoted to the rehabilitation of erring youngsters and who have given selflessly of their time and energies to that end. However, the ever increasing numbers of juveniles appearing before the courts and the rate of recidivism appear to indicate that a fundamental reappraisal of the causes of, and remedies for, juvenile delinquency is necessary.

Preventive Measures

The prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders have been the subject of numerous reports and proposals by bodies, both official and unofficial, in recent years. These include Lord Ingleby's Committee on Children and Young Persons; the Morison Committee on the Probation Service; the Royal Commission on the Police; and several important reports by the Home Secretary's Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders.

In August 1965, the Government published a White Paper, "The Child, the Family and the Young Offender," which set out proposals for drastic reforms in law and practice to support the family and to forestall and reduce delinquency. Many of the detailed proposals—notably those to set up Family Councils and Young Offenders' Courts—found little favour generally, not least in police circles; but, having regard to the failure of methods tried in the past to curb delinquency, there can be little opposition to the basic aims and objectives of the White Paper. For this reason it is to be hoped that they will be pursued, albeit with different machinery.

Almost any police officer who reviews progressive thought on the subject of preventing and treating juvenile delinquency is inclined to take a reactionary and cynical view in the light of the situation with which he, as a preventive and enforcement officer, has to contend.

The average policeman looking back would say that the force of *prevention*, on which so much emphasis is placed, has been remarkably neglected. *Treatment*, as I have said, is not the direct concern of the police officer, although he cannot help being critical of its results as his problems depend to a large extent on the ineffectiveness of that treatment.

If we accept—as I think we must—the approach of modern progressive thinking, we (the police) must readjust our outlook so that our knowledge and experience may be put to constructive use in any

reforms which are introduced. The aim of the police should be to help to make them work in practice and I have no doubt whatsoever that our contribution can be very considerable.

The prevention of crime is the accepted primary object of the police in this country. It could fairly be said, however, that their role has tended to be restricted: that it has not been sufficiently objective in preventing a desire to commit crime or in resisting the temptation, as distinct from deterring those who are about to further that desire. The preventive role of the police, as effected by beat patrolling and attention to property and disorder, must of course remain, but it is only half of the ideal concept of preventive policing.

There has of recent years been much police time and energy expended upon "crime prevention." By and large this is only a very small and in my opinion *comparatively* unimportant part of the preventive role. It has little effect in the removal of the root causes of crime; it only helps to make crime more difficult to commit.

Far more thought will have to be given to the extent to which the police machinery, as a whole, but based upon the stature, experience and ability of the man on the beat, can be employed to deal with, and to prevent or remove, incipient crime and its causes. I am convinced that it is possible to widen the outlook of the man on the beat towards his primary function of the prevention of crime. No-one knows better than the regular man on the beat, for example, in which localities the dangers lie; why these dangers exist; who are falling for them; and, perhaps, what are the remedies. His capacity to observe and think can be developed and used to greater advantage.

This approach comes almost automatically to the policeman who has, or shares with a few others, full responsibility for law and order in a comparatively small and isolated area. The power for good of the village policeman is not disputed. On the peripheral areas of the Metropolitan Police District this concept of police is being pursued, already with some success, and fresh impetus will be given to this trend by the introduction of unit beat policing. While it is impossible to achieve the same pattern of administration in the more congested areas, the concept of the village bobby can, however, be introduced into the approach of the urban policeman to his problems.

The Social Services

Any reforms in the law and practice relating to juvenile delinquency will undoubtedly place even greater emphasis than ever before upon

the role of the social or welfare services. Our experience up to now has not, however, always been fortunate, as by no means all local authorities have taken full advantage of the responsibilities already entrusted to them and emphasised by section 1 of the Children and Young Persons Act of 1963, often through lack of resources. Again, it may be dangerous to over-generalise because some authorities have been much more active in this respect than others. However, it is my view that much crime could have been prevented if the local authorities had followed up and taken action on a greater percentage, if not all, of the cases reported to them by police where youngsters have shown signs of incipient delinquency. The success of any proposals to deal with juvenile offenders increasingly by "social" methods would depend largely upon a strengthening of the staffs of local authorities.

Possible Measures

This brings us to a critical point in the police role of implementing the preventive side of any such reforms. Although dangerously understaffed, the police can bring more and more cases forward for consideration, but experience in the past has shown that in consultative discussions on cases, the police information and view has been sought and given, and that has been the extent of police participation. The police officer, even though it be a woman who devotes the majority of her time to this sort of case, has been looked upon as a person untrained and ignorant of the way in which the evils of criminal contamination may be dealt with. In fact, he or she possesses an unequalled fund of local knowledge—of persons, their families and associates and of the atmosphere and philosophy which surrounds them. Assessments are mature and based upon factual knowledge.

If reforms are to work, I am convinced that the police must be accepted in a much fuller role. Their knowledge of local conditions, their level-headedness and their force for good amongst their fellow citizens has been recognised by the authorities in areas where Police Juvenile Liaison Schemes operate. In the Metropolis there is only one such scheme, but I cannot conceive that the Borough in question would attempt to implement any reforms such as those of which I have been speaking without relying greatly upon the local police juvenile liaison officers. They would almost certainly look to those officers to help them staff committees under any machinery which might ensue. I am inclined to think that the time has come when we ought to persuade other local authorities to adopt a similar attitude

and to accept the police more fully as partners in the heavy responsibilities which fall upon them in tackling juvenile delinquency.

Since April 1965, all police boundaries in the Metropolis have been made to coincide with local authorities; and I conceived then that the opportunity for liaison between the police and the town hall would in future be greater in the field of juvenile delinquency and child welfare than in the more common fields where liaison had been strong in the past, such as traffic control. If, as seems reasonably certain, any reforms in law and practice will increase the preventive responsibilities of local authorities in respect of delinquency, I hope that they will realise the extent to which their difficulties may be alleviated if they accept the police, as full partners, with a revitalised outlook on their primary object of preventing crime.

If this is achieved, problems of a technical nature will arise, such as the extent to which confidential information about children and their parents should be exchanged, but these are minor difficulties which the urgency of the cause should easily overcome. The success of such partnerships will also depend upon the ability of local police to effect the appropriate relations with the local authorities in order to ensure that individual cases are disposed of without delay. I have already referred to the need which will exist to strengthen the local authority departments, and I consider it will also be essential to develop greater co-ordination between the various departments within local authorities. This is something which the Seeborn Committee, reviewing the organisation of local authority personal services, will undoubtedly seek to achieve. But there will also be a need for the police themselves to re-organise in order to contribute their part of the necessary machinery and to this end it may become desirable before long to appoint, in the field, full-time officers, trained and equipped for this important and specialised work.

The appointment of police juvenile specialists would not, in my view, detract in any way from the respective roles of the children's, welfare and probation services, and from unattached youth workers, but would rather provide a much needed bridge between those agencies and the police service as a whole. The need for such a specialised police service has long been recognised in many other progressive countries. I am sure that specialist officers, able to devote their whole time and energies to the problem of juvenile delinquency would prove invaluable in the fields of discovery, elementary diagnosis,

referral and liaison, as well as in the institution of more formal court processes where necessary. I am not proposing that police should become social workers or that they should usurp the functions of the social and welfare services, but I am convinced that for too long there has been a wide gap between those services and the police and that, for the common good, an attempt should be made to fill the void.

PRIMARY RECIDIVISM IN ADULT MEN: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN ON FIRST AND SECOND PRISON SENTENCE†

CHARMIAN BLACKLER (*London*)*

Introduction

DURING 1963,¹ over 40,000 adult males were received after sentence into the prisons of England and Wales. For more than half of these men it was at least their third experience of prison, and this group included a small proportion who had spent by far the greater part of their adult life "inside." The remaining 44 per cent. consisted of men who had received their first or second prison sentences, the group of first sentence men being about three times as large as the group of second sentence men or "primary recidivists."² As this proportion of three to one had remained fairly constant over the years it followed that about two-thirds of first sentence men avoid getting into further trouble with the law (or at least avoid getting caught and sentenced to prison), whereas the remaining one-third do commit further offences that land them back in prison. In time, of course, it is from this group of primary recidivists that the more advanced recidivists will be drawn.

It can be argued from these facts that the best method of tackling the problem of recidivism would be to find ways of detecting from among the first sentence men the one-third most likely to return as primary recidivists. If they could be detected at that stage it would

† This research was carried out under the direction of the Chief Psychologist, Home Office Prison Department. So many people, mainly prison psychologists and psychological testers, have been involved it would be impossible to name them all individually, but acknowledgement and appreciation of their work is here expressed.

We are indebted to the Home Office Prison Department for permission to publish this article but permission does not imply that it represents their views.

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¹ This article is an abbreviated version of a monograph produced for internal circulation in June 1966. The 1963 figures were the latest figures available at the time of writing.

² Since this was written, the term "primary recidivist" has been used to denote a man convicted for the second time (Walker, 1965). Our terminology can be traced back to the Classification Working Party set up by the Prison Commissioners which reported in 1958. Among its proposals was one to make the establishment about to be opened in Everthorpe a regional holding prison and allocation centre for "first time recidivists" (defined as on page 131) with medium-length sentences. Although this proposal was never implemented a small investigation was carried out to discover some of the administrative characteristics of the group of inmates that would have been concerned and it was this that led eventually to the study reported here.

perhaps be possible not only to make intensive study of their problems in relation to the society against which they have offended, but to devise additional forms of treatment to help them to become law-abiding citizens. Any success in reducing the proportion of primary recidivists would have a cumulative effect in reducing the prison population because recidivists tend to get increasingly severe sentences.

As a result of several studies by prison psychologists of groups of men in various stages of recidivism, it seemed that one of the characteristics of confirmed recidivists is the extent to which they are isolated from social contact. In many cases this isolation is virtually complete and it is not difficult to find men who on release return to a world where there are no relatives or friends who are prepared to help them, who have no accommodation and no definite job, and who are completely without the sort of roots that most of us depend on as a base from which we conduct the business of living. In extreme cases men seem to feel they belong nowhere but in prison and will take steps to get re-arrested on the day of their release in order to avoid the formidable task of gaining re-admittance to society. To some extent this state of affairs is the result and not the cause of crime, but we would suggest that social isolation may be as much a characteristic of the individual as a result of special circumstances, and we would expect to find it early on in the career of the recidivist. With this in mind we embarked on a fairly wide-ranging study of men in the early years of their criminal careers, comparing primary recidivists with men on their first sentence.

The Sample

Between October 1958 and June 1959, we obtained information in five large local prisons on 438 first sentence or FS men, and 242 primary recidivists or PR men. We use the abbreviations FS and PR to refer to the two groups.

The FS man was defined as an adult aged twenty-one or over on sentence, convicted for a criminal offence, who had not previously served a sentence for a criminal conviction of either imprisonment or borstal training. The PR man was defined as an adult aged twenty-one or over on sentence, convicted for a criminal offence, who had previously served one sentence for a criminal conviction of either imprisonment or borstal training.

Data were collected on 143 FS and seventy-six PR men at Birmingham, on eighty-seven FS and thirty-nine PR men at Bristol, on 106 FS

and sixty-five PR men at Durham, on forty-one FS and twenty PR men at Leeds, and on sixty-one FS and forty-two PR men at Manchester. No data were collected from any London prison, as there were at the same time studies going on of remand men at Brixton (de Berker, 1960) and more advanced recidivists at Wandsworth. It was hoped to have data from Holloway but it was not found possible to make staff available.

It is important to note that this was to be a pilot study and data were collected when and where convenient. It does not purport to be representative of the whole country, being strongly biased towards the North and neglecting London altogether and, for example, nearly a third of the total 680 men were from Birmingham prison.

It was intended to have the two groups approximately the same size by seeing every PR and every third FS reception. However, the data were to be used also by the Home Office Research Unit, and to meet their requirements we saw two FS men for every PR. We stopped collecting data when we had about 250 PRs and 500 FSs and after discarding incomplete cases we were left with our final groups of 242 PRs and 438 FSs, of whom 156 had had no previous convictions. It is to these 680 men that the subsequent analysis was directed.

The Schedule

We used as a basis the schedule used by Taylor in his study of PDs (Taylor, 1957, 1960). This schedule was drawn up when PDs were first sent to a centre for allocation and research, and was based on the experience gained from over 4,000 Corrective Trainees seen at the centre during the previous six years. Because of the dominant influence of the PD study on the PR research it is relevant to take a look at the main findings of the PD study. Based on systematically recorded case history the schedule contained six main sections: family background and relationships; education, employment and Service record; intelligence and personality; medical and psychiatric history; criminal record; prison record. The results showed that the PDs formed a very heterogeneous group on almost all counts. The majority came from homes where normal family cohesion existed and the father had achieved reasonable social status; intelligence was normally distributed, a fair proportion had passed on to secondary education and a quarter of the group had at some time held a job for at least three years; on a broad personality classification there was a wide scatter; finally it was noted that 71 per cent. were without

family ties (only 15 per cent. were still married) and 83 per cent. had committed their latest offence alone.

These findings suggest that in a group of recidivists the majority are undergoing a desocialising process whereby normally endowed men who come from unexceptional homes gradually become socially inadequate and isolated.

After various trial runs and revisions and after a few items had been dropped as being unsuitable in some way, the following are the items that were finally used in the current analysis:

A. *Age on Current Conviction*

B. *Social Circumstances and Behaviour*

1. Marital status
2. Stability of marriage
3. Cohabitation
4. Number of children
5. Effectiveness of contact with close relatives
6. Effectiveness of contact with other relatives and friends
7. Accommodation at time of arrest
8. Satisfaction with accommodation
9. Religious affiliation
10. Religious observance in civil life
11. Wife's denomination
12. Drinking and gambling
13. Drinking and gambling in man's family

C. *Family Background*

1. Parental composition of home at school leaving age
2. Death of parent during school days
3. Number of siblings
4. Father's occupational status
5. Happiness of childhood, as recalled
6. Causes of unhappiness
7. Prison experience in family
8. Mother's work during man's school life
9. Mother's age at man's birth

D. *Education*

1. Kind of school—including Home Office Approved School
2. Age on leaving school

D. *Education—continued.*

3. Interruption by illness and/or truancy
4. Convictions during school career

E. *Employment*

1. Occupational status
2. Unemployment at time of committing offence
3. Longest period of employment
4. Number of jobs held during the previous five years
5. Weekly income when last at work
6. Other earners contributing to household finances
7. Sufficiency of income

F. *Military Service*

1. Type of engagement
2. Summary of service, whether completed, why discharged
3. Service crime

G. *Intelligence*

1. Non-verbal intelligence test

H. *Education Attainment*

1. Reading comprehension test
2. Arithmetic test

I. *Personality Assessment*

1. The Maudsley Personality Inventory
 - (a) Neuroticism
 - (b) Extraversion
2. The Californian Authoritarian Attitude ("F") Scale (modified)
 - (a) Authoritarianism and rigidity
 - (b) Acquiescence and compliance

J. *Anthropometrical details*

1. Height
2. Weight

K. *Medical History*

1. Incapacitating illness resulting in permanent disability

L. *Psychiatric History*

1. Subnormality
2. Psychiatric disturbance
3. Subnormality in immediate (natural) family
4. Psychiatric disorder (including suicide attempts) in immediate family
5. (For PRs only): Psychotherapy in prison

M. *Current conviction and sentence*

- *1. Length of current sentence
- *2. Nature of current offence
3. Some features of current offence
 - (a) Accomplices
 - (b) Planning
 - (c) Alcohol and/or drugs involved
4. Disposal during period awaiting sentence

N. *Criminal record*

1. Age at first recorded conviction
- *2. Number of previous convictions
- *3. Nature of offences comprising previous convictions
- *4. Previous sentences received
5. Interval at risk after last sentence
- *6. Civil offences
7. Total time spent in prison on remand or for civil offences
For PRs only
- *8. Length of previous sentence of imprisonment or borstal
- *9. Nature of previous offence leading to prison or borstal
10. Some features of previous offence leading to prison or borstal—
 - (a) Accomplices
 - (b) Planning
 - (c) Alcohol and/or drugs involved

Of these seventy items, eight were obtained from prison records, the rest from interviews conducted shortly after sentence had been passed, by the psychologists appointed to the prisons.

Results

A. *Age on Current Conviction*

The age distribution of the FS and PR groups was very similar.

* From prison records.

The PR group was a slightly younger group than the FS but this was not significant.⁸

B. *Social Circumstances and Behaviour*

1. *Marital status.* It was suggested that the achievement of marital status and the stability of that state once achieved might be regarded as indicative of personal and social maturity, personal adjustment, adequacy or acceptance of responsibility—all states indicative of social integration. There was no significant difference in the proportions of FS and PR who had been married at some time as compared with those who were single.

2. *Stability of marriage.* Comparing those still married with those divorced or separated, we find that marriages among the PR men had more often been broken. ($\chi^2=4.93$, 1 df. $P<0.05$)

3. *Cohabitation.* More PR men were living with women other than their legal wives. Neither proportion is very high. (Sixteen FSs and nineteen PRs).

4. *Number of children.* No differences were shown in the numbers of children FS and PR men had.

5. *Effectiveness of contact with close relatives.* Loss of contact or poverty of contact with spouse and/or other family members is an often observed feature of prison inmates. We examined the extent of contact for each group at the time of arrest for the current offence. Contact may have been with wife, cohabitee, or original family, and its effectiveness is described in terms of satisfactoriness and lack of disturbance in the relationship concerned. We compared "good contact" with "some disturbance but no major breakdown," "major breakdown," "desultory" and "no contact over last twelve months." 49 per cent. of PRs, compared with 62 per cent. of FSs, had had "good" contact. ($\chi^2=9.59$, 1 df. $P<0.01$)

6. *Effectiveness of contact with other relatives and friends.* Similar data are available with regard to contact with relatives and friends (as distinct from immediate or original family). Again the results show less close and effective contacts for the recidivist group. 41 per cent. PRs as against 57 per cent. FSs had maintained "good" contact. ($\chi^2=14.57$, 1 df. $P<0.001$)

7. *Accommodation at time of arrest.* Closely linked with the state of family and social relationships is the kind of accommodation

⁸ Results are described as significant where $P<0.05$.
Single-tailed tests were used in all cases.

a man is occupying at the time of arrest. A higher proportion of FS men were living with their own family (of marriage or of origin) than of PR men. (75 per cent. as against 67 per cent. for PRs). ($\chi^2=4.50$, 1 df. $P<.05$)

8. *Satisfaction with accommodation.* Associated with the above was a tendency, which was however not significant, for PRs to feel more often that their accommodation (or their state in this respect) was unsatisfactory. ($\chi^2=3.05$, 1 df. $.08>P>.05$)

9. *Religious affiliation.* There is no evidence of differences in religious affiliation between the groups.

10. *Religious observance in civil life.* Individuals' claim to practise their religion in civil life (i.e., to attend church on occasions other than the main festivals, marriages, burials, etc.) was also recorded. There was a non-significant tendency for the FS group to have a higher proportion of practising men than the PR group. ($\chi^2=3.49$, 1 df. $.06>P>.05$)

11. *Wife's denomination.* The wife's denomination, in the case of married men, was also recorded. In each group there were about 20 per cent. whose wives were of different denomination from that of the prisoners, but only in a negligible number of cases was there a claim that the difference led to incompatibility. There was no difference between the groups in this respect.

12. *Drinking and gambling.* We defined drinkers and gamblers as those who considered their drinking or gambling as serious. There were fewer drinkers in the FS group than in the PR group but no difference in the proportions of gamblers.

Drinkers v. Non-drinkers: $\chi^2=16.63$, 1 df. $P<.001$

Gamblers v. Non-gamblers: $\chi^2=1.06$, 1 df. $P>.05$

13. *Drinking and gambling in man's family.* The number of men who said that another member of their immediate family drank or gambled seriously was lower than the number who themselves drank or gambled. There was no significant difference between the groups in this respect, but there was a tendency for more PR men to state that someone in their family drank or gambled seriously.

Incidence in FS family v. Incidence in FS man: $\chi^2=15.17$, 1 df. $P<.001$

Incidence in PR family v. Incidence in PR man: $\chi^2=22.45$, 1 df. $P<.001$

Incidence in FS family v. Incidence in PR family: $\chi^2=3.26$, 1 df. $.07>P>.05$

C. *Family Background*

1. *Parental composition of the home at school leaving age.* Disruption of the home or family in childhood is frequently found to have occurred for delinquent individuals. The actual composition of the home at the time when the prisoner attained the statutory school leaving age was recorded. The FS families more often contained both parents than the PR families, whereas more of the PRs had suffered some kind of disruption of the parental composition of their families, including death. Condensing the categories "one parent only," "one parent, one step-parent," "other relatives" and "foster parents or parent substitutes" under the heading "disrupted home," we have: Both parents v. Disrupted home v. Children's home: $\chi^2 = 5.46$, 2 df. $P < .05$

2. *Death of parent during school days.* Whether a parent had died during schooldays was examined but there were no significant differences between the groups in this respect.⁴

3. *Number of siblings.* There is a common belief that delinquents come from larger families than non-delinquents, and this has been supported by evidence from a number of studies, notably from the work of the Gluecks (Glueck, S. and E. T., 1950).⁵ More than 35 per cent. of both FS and PR groups had five or more siblings, which is considerably above the national average of about 10 per cent., but there was no difference between the groups.

4. *Father's occupational status.* There is a tendency for the PRs to have fathers of lower occupational status than those of the FSs. Disregarding the categories "not known," "out of work" and "unclassified," we have:

Skilled v. Semi-skilled v. Unskilled*: $\chi^2 = 7.25$, 2 df: $P < .05$

5. *Happiness of childhood, as recalled.* There has been considerable evidence to show that the early family life is much more disturbed for delinquents than for non-delinquents. This factor was simply defined as "happiness" in the present investigation. The recidivists show a higher proportion of homes remembered as unhappy. ($\chi^2 = 13.97$, 1 df. $P < .001$)

6. *Causes of unhappiness.* When asked the causes of their unhappiness more PR men mentioned that they had suffered from

⁴ Cf. Brown, F. and Epps, P. (1960).

⁵ It has been suggested that overcrowding rather than actual family size is the relevant factor. See Walker (1965) p. 75.

⁶ See Table E.1, p. 141 "Skilled" covers Groups 1 to 3, "Semiskilled" is Group 4, and "Unskilled" covers Groups 6 to 9.

parental disharmony, economic difficulties and other causes not given in detail. Rather more of them had had a poor relationship with the mother, but there was no difference where the father was concerned, or with siblings or living conditions.

If we compare only the unhappy men of each group, there are no differences in the reasons they give, except that the FSs tend to give relations with the father more often than do the PRs.

For all men in groups:

Parents v. Not. $\chi^2=8.40$ 1 df. $P<.01$

Father v. Not. By inspection of χ^2 1 df. $p>.05$

Mother v. Not. $\chi^2=3.54$ 1 df. $.07>P>.05$

Siblings v. Not. By inspection of χ^2 1 df. $p>.05$

Economic v. Not. $\chi^2=6.23$ 1 df. $P<.02$

Living conditions v. Not. $\chi^2=1.84$ 1 df. $P>.05$

Others v. Not. $\chi^2=4.08$ 1 df. $P<.05$

For "unhappy" men only:

Parents v. Not. By inspection of χ^2 1 df. $P>.05$

Father v. Not. $\chi^2=3.76$ 1 df. $.06>P>.05$

Mother v. Not. By inspection of χ^2 1 df. $P>.05$

Siblings v. Not. By inspection of χ^2 1 df. $P>.05$

Economic v. Not. By inspection of χ^2 1 df. $P>.05$

Living conditions v. Not. By inspection of χ^2 1 df. $P>.05$

Others v. Not. By inspection of χ^2 1 df. $P>.05$

7. *Prison experience in family.* The prisoners were asked whether other members of their family of origin had been in prison. There was a predominance of prison experience among siblings, rather than among the parents of our prisoners. There was for both groups only a minority whose relatives had had prison experience, but this was higher for the PR than for the FS group (24.4 per cent. compared with 13.0 per cent.) ($\chi^2=13.44$, 1 df. $P<.001$)

FS only: Parents v. Siblings $\chi^2=7.14$, 1 df. $P<.01$

PR only: Parents v. Siblings $\chi^2=13.52$, 1 df. $P<.001$

8. *Mother's work during man's school-life.* A little less than half of each group reported that their mothers went out to work full or part-time during their school life. There was no association between the incidence of working mothers and the occurrence of recidivism.

9. *Mother's age at man's birth.* About half of the men in each group were born when their mothers were in their twenties, a little more than a quarter when their mothers were in their thirties. The rest were divided fairly evenly between those whose mothers were at

their birth fifteen to nineteen, forty or over, or whose age was not known. This factor was not related to the occurrence of recidivism.

D. Education

The Gluecks in their book *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* remark that "the school is the first testing ground set up by Society for the child outside the secure atmosphere of the home. It supplies the first proof of his adaptability and socialisation in a theatre of action in which there are strict rules punitively enforced by non-parental authority." We consider first the kind of schools our prisoners had attended:

1. *Kind of school.* The men were asked what kind of school they had attended immediately prior to finishing full-time education. The great majority of men in both groups had left from elementary or secondary modern schools. Although so small a minority that the result is not entirely reliable (only four PR men had attended grammar or public schools), a higher proportion of FS men than PR men had been educated at grammar or public schools.

Yet another important minority group was the 4.5 per cent. FS men who had left from a special school for educationally retarded children, from a colony for mental defectives, or from a school for disabled and handicapped children, compared with 1.2 per cent. of such men in the PR group; this difference was however not significant at the .05 level.

Grammar and Public v. Secondary Modern and Elementary:

$$\chi^2=7.53 \text{ 1 df. } P<.01$$

E.S.N., M.D. or Special v. Other Schools: $\chi^2=3.83 \text{ 1 df.}$
 $.06>P>.05$

1a. *Home Office Approved School.* A larger proportion of the PR than of the FS group had been at some time committed to an approved school (15.7 per cent. compared with 6.6 per cent.). ($\chi^2=12.27 \text{ 1 df.}$ $P<.001$)

2. *Age on leaving school.* The minimum school-leaving age was raised by the 1944 Education Act from fourteen to fifteen. More than 85 per cent. of both groups left school at either fourteen or fifteen. There were no significant differences between the groups.

3. *Interruption of education by illness and/or truancy.* There was no difference in the reports of serious or frequent illness while at school. The PR group had had a higher incidence of truancy ($\chi^2=10.66 \text{ 1 df. } P<.001$). Without school records it would be impossible

to assess frequency of truancy, which was recorded for all those who admitted to truancy "frequently," where frequently was not closely defined. Similarly, the seriousness or frequency of illness was left to the inmate's judgment.

4. *Convictions during school career.* A much higher proportion of the PRs had appeared in court at some stage of their school careers. 35.1 per cent. of PRs had at least one conviction while still at school, compared with 19.4 per cent. of FSs. ($\chi^2=19.76$ 1 df. $P<.001$)

E. Employment

That a close relationship exists between criminality and occupational factors is generally acknowledged. The Gluecks (1930, 1937) and Mannheim and Wilkins (1955) have shown that differences in work habits can discriminate the reformatory and borstal failure from his more successful peers. First, we attempted to classify the kind of employment a man had immediately before his arrest:

1. *Occupational status.* The FS group contained a larger proportion of skilled and white collar workers than the PR group, most of whom came from unskilled and labouring work.

TABLE E.1

Group Number	Occupational status at time of arrest	FS		PR	
		No.	%	No.	%
1	Professional or managerial	15	3.4	2	0.8
2	Clerical or commercial	43	9.8	14	5.8
3	Skilled	64	14.6	27	11.2
4	Semi-skilled, tradesman or manufacturing worker	110	25.1	44	18.2
5	Others	15	3.4	3	1.2
6	Unskilled labourer*	155	35.4	124	51.2
7	General dealer	11	2.5	11	4.5
8	Fisherman or agricultural worker	6	1.4	3	1.2
9	Merchant Navy or H.M. Forces	10	2.3	7	2.9
10	Unemployed or usually unemployed	7	1.6	5	2.1
11	Not known	2	0.5	2	0.8
Totals		438	100.0	242	99.9

Excluding Unemployed and Not known.

Groups 1 to 5 v. Groups 6 to 9: $\chi^2=21.81$ 1 df. $P<.001$

2. *Unemployment at time of committing offence.* A higher proportion of the PR group than of the FS group were unemployed at the time of committing the current offence ($\chi^2=20.75$ 1 df. $P<.001$). In both groups it was only a small minority who had been unemployed for more than six months, but about a third of this sub-group had been unemployed for over five years. Some of these may have been actively engaged in crime, others may have been suffering from prolonged illness.

3. *Longest period of employment.* The longest period of employment in any one job (excluding military service) was recorded. For the FS men this period tended to be longer than for the PR men. It is of course quite the usual practice for unskilled workers to move from job to job as contracts are completed, although many are offered other work by their employers.

Longest period in any one job:

Eighteen months or less v. two to five years v. Over five years:
 $\chi^2=29.25$ 2 df. $P<.001$.

4. *Number of jobs held in the previous five years.* Closely linked to the length of employment is the number of different jobs a man has held, so it was not surprising to find that in the five years immediately before arrest the PR men had held more jobs than had the FSs.

Number of jobs held within last five years:

Two or less v. Three to eight v. Nine and over: $\chi^2=26.48$
 2 df. $P<.001$.

5. *Weekly income when last at work.* The distributions of earnings for the FS and PR groups were almost identical. This is perhaps surprising in view of the finding that the FS group contained a higher proportion of skilled and white collar workers (56.3 per cent.), whereas the PR group contained a higher proportion of unskilled and labouring men (37.2 per cent. skilled and white collar). In each group about 40 per cent. earned £10 to £14, and another 40 per cent. earned only £5 to £9 per week.

6. *Other earners contributing to household finances.* Nearly two-thirds of each group stated that they were the sole contributors. Among these will be those living on their own. There was no difference between the groups.

7. *Sufficiency of income.* More than 80 per cent. of each group replied that their income was sufficient. There was no difference between the groups.

F. *Military Service*

Nearly all the men had served in the armed forces at some time.

1. *Type of engagement.* A greater proportion of the PR group had served at least part of a regular engagement, rather than War Service, National Service, or Auxiliary Services (including Merchant Navy)

Regular engagement v. All other types of engagement (and Unfit and Exempt): $\chi^2 = 12.04$ 1 df. $P < .001$

Since more FSs were unfit or exempt, we made the comparison:

Regular engagement v. All other types of engagement (excluding Unfit and Exempt): $\chi^2 = 6.04$ 1 df. $P < .02$

2. *Summary of Service.* It is possible that men in the recidivist group had signed on as regulars to make a new start in life. If so, many of them were unsuccessful in this: the proportion who were discharged on disciplinary grounds "Services no longer required" was much higher than for the FS group, who more often completed their engagement satisfactorily. There are, of course, other interpretations, for example that the recidivist men signed on in order to escape responsibility. Excluding those who had no engagement and combining those discharged for medical, psychiatric and S.N.L.R. and those who were still serving, we have:

Engagement completed satisfactorily v. All other categories: $\chi^2 = 12.48$ 1 df $P < .001$

3. *Service crime.* Closely linked with the reason for discharge from the Services will be the record of service crime. Far more of the PRs had served a period of detention, or a sentence in a military prison, or both.

No record v. Detention v. Prison: $\chi^2 = 19.65$ 2 df $P < .001$

G. *Intelligence*^{*}

Many early studies of offenders showed that subnormal intelligence and criminality were closely associated (*e.g.*, Goring, 1913). Later studies, including that of Burt (1925) and the Gluecks (1959), have cast doubt on any link between intelligence and crime causation.

In this study we administered a non-verbal intelligence test, Raven's progressive Matrices 1938, twenty minutes time version (Test O). Although the mean score for the FS group was slightly higher than for the PR group, the difference was not significant. The

^{*} Sections G, H and I are based on the results of tests which were administered to most but not all of the men, hence totals vary.

FS group included a slightly larger proportion of men of above average intelligence, which was to be expected since the FS group included a higher proportion who were professional and white collar workers. The results of both groups are very much below those of the normal, non-criminal population used by Raven to establish norms. (Raven, 1960, p. 15.) Table G.1 shows the results for the two groups, Table G.1a re-casts them in terms of the score-ranges corresponding to Raven's

TABLE G.1

Results of Test O	FS	PR
Mean score	34.07	33.77
Standard deviation	10.44	9.60
Number in group	436	238

$$t = .38 \text{ } P > .05$$

TABLE G.1.a

Intelligence grade	Score range	% of general population aged 30	FS		PR	
			No.	%	No.	%
1	54 and over	5	5	0.9	2	0.8
2	53	5	2	0.5	1	0.4
3	47 to 52	15	39	8.9	13	5.5
4	42 to 46	25	71	16.3	32	13.4
5	34 to 41	25	139	32.6	89	37.4
6	25 to 33	15	87	20.0	54	22.7
7	19 to 24	5	55	12.6	26	10.9
8	18 and under	5	38	8.7	21	8.8
	Totals	100	436	100.0	238	100.0

FS v. PR: Grades 1, 2 and 3 v. 4 and 5 v. 6, 7 and 8:

$$\chi^2 = 3.18 \text{ } 2 \text{ df. } P > .05$$

FS v. General population: Grades 1 to 4 v. 5 to 8:

By inspection of χ^2 , $P < .001$

PR v. General population: Grades 1 to 4 v. 5 to 8:

By inspection of χ^2 , $P < .001$

percentile points. We used the scores given for age thirty (an estimate of the average age of the groups, the tabulations of ages not being available).

Compared with the norms established for a prison population,⁷ the FS group was slightly superior, the PR group no different. Using this particular scale the difference between FS and PR groups became significant, the FS group having more men whose intelligence was higher than the average inmate over twenty-five.⁸

TABLE G.1.b

Intelligence grade	Score range	% of Inmate population aged 25 and over	FS		PR	
			No.	%	No.	%
1	46 to 50	10	56	12.9	21	8.9
2	40 to 45	20	99	22.7	42	17.6
3	35 to 39	20	84	19.3	62	25.9
4	29 to 34	20	68	15.5	44	18.5
5	20 to 28	20	83	19.1	45	18.9
6	5 to 19	10	46	10.5	24	10.1
Totals		100	436	100.0	238	99.9

FS v. PR: Grades 1 and 2 v. 3 and 4 v. 5 and 6:

$$\chi^2 = 7.7 \text{ 2 df } P < .025$$

PS v. Inmate population $\chi^2 = 9.80$, 5 df. $P > .05$

PR v. Inmate population $\chi^2 = 5.76$, 5 df. $P > .05$

H. Educational Attainments

There was a non-significant tendency for the recidivists to score lower on the following tests:

1. *Reading Comprehension Test.* Test R was a prison version of the Watts-Vernon Reading Comprehension Test.⁹

The mean for the FS group was slightly higher than that for the PR group, but the difference was not significant. Table H.1 shows the test results and Table H.1a re-casts them in terms of the score ranges corresponding approximately to percentile points for a general

⁷ *Manual of Psychological Testing* (Internal Circulation), pp. 2A-3.

⁸ The only prison norm available was for "inmates over twenty-five and all PDs."

⁹ Designed in 1948 by Dr. A. F. Watts and Prof. P. E. Vernon this test was used by a special committee to investigate the nature and extent of illiteracy and was based on the average attainment of children in 1938.

population sample age eighteen (Donald, 1956). Both groups obtained lower results than would be obtained from a non-criminal population aged eighteen.

TABLE H.1

Results of Test R	FS	PR
Mean score	16.40	15.98
Standard deviation	8.06	7.34
Number in group	427	233

$$t = .68 \text{ } P > .05$$

TABLE H.1.a

Grade	Score range	% of general population aged 18	FS		PR	
			No.	%	No.	%
1	29-35	10	29	6.8	10	4.3
2	24-28	20	65	15.2	27	11.6
3	21-23	20	46	10.8	34	14.6
4	17-20	20	70	16.4	41	17.6
5	10-16	20	126	29.5	78	33.5
6	0-9	10	91	21.3	43	18.4
	Totals	100	427	100.0	233	100.0

FS v. PR: Grades 1 to 3 v. 4 to 6: By inspection of χ^2 , $P > .05$

FS v. General population: $\chi^2 = 104.16$ 5 df. $P < .01$

PR v. General population $\chi^2 = 57.66$ 5 df $P < .01$

2. *Arithmetic test.* Test 101 was a test designed exclusively for use within prisons and borstals. Table H.2 shows the test results. There was a very nearly significant difference between the groups, the FS score being slightly higher.

TABLE H.2

Results of Test 101	FS	PR
Mean score	20.57	19.52
Standard deviation	8.60	7.34
Number in group	413	223

$$t = 1.62 \text{ } .06 > P > .05$$

I *Personality*

1. *The Maudsley Personality Inventory.* This was designed to give a measure of two aspects of personality; neuroticism and extraversion. It has since been replaced to some extent by the "Eysenck Personality Inventory." The M.P.I. has been used extensively by psychologists in prisons and borstals.

(a) *Neuroticism*

Previous workers (Bartholomew, 1959; Field, 1959; Fitch, 1961) have noted that recidivists obtain high scores on the Neuroticism Scale. It has been suggested that the "N" Scale may be both an assessment of constitutional neuroticism and a reflection of felt anxiety.

The PR group obtained a higher mean score than the FS group. The mean score for both groups was considerably higher than has been found for non-criminal normal people, though lower than for groups of diagnosed neurotics (Eysenck, 1959; Jensen, 1958)¹⁰

TABLE I.1.a

Results of M.P.I. (a) The "N" Scale	FS	PR
Mean score	25.3	27.7
Standard deviation	10.96	11.22
Number in group	413	223

$$t = 2.60 \quad P < .01$$

(b) *Extraversion*

Eysenck (1959, p. 7) describes extraversion as referring to "the outgoing, uninhibited, social proclivities of a person." Franks (1956) and others have suggested that there may be two kinds of recidivist—the introverted kind who is easily conditioned but has been conditioned in an undesirable early environment, and the extraverted kind (including the psychopath) who is not easily conditioned and may have come from any kind of early environment. Using the data in this study, Fitch (1961, Part II) found and discussed the associations between the E scale scores and the

¹⁰ Eysenck's normal, English standardisation group numbered 1,800, mean "N" score 19.89, standard deviation 11.02. His neurotics were divided into "hysterical" hospital patients (group size 58, mean "N" score 30.82, standard deviation 11.84) and "dysthymic" hospital patients (group size 84, mean "N" score 38.18, standard deviation 10.84).

variables relating to early upbringing and environment. Here we merely show the mean E scale scores. The PR group had a very slightly higher score, but the difference was not significant. The mean scores for both groups fall within the limits set by non-criminal normals.¹¹

TABLE I.1.b

Results of M.P.I. (b) The "E" scale	FS	PR
Mean score	25.92	26.17
Standard deviation	7.83	7.56
Number in group	413	223

$$t = 0.39 \quad P > .05$$

2. *The Californian Authoritarian Attitude Scale.* An experimental modification (Twiselton, 1958) of this scale (Adorno *et al.*, 1950) was used, after the original scale had been tried out at Durham Prison, when it was suggested that a tendency to answer "yes" to all questions was confounding the results. (Cf. Couch and Keniston, 1960.) It was the first time it had been used with a British prison population. The modification involved reversing some of the statements so that a high F scorer would have to say "yes" to some questions and "no" to others. The number of times a man answered "yes" was taken as a measure of his acquiescence or compliance.

(a) *Authoritarianism or rigidity*

The expectation was that the recidivist group would obtain higher scores, indicating greater authoritarianism or rigidity. In

TABLE I.2.a

F Score	FS	PR
Mean score	10.85	10.58
Standard deviation	2.99	2.66
Number in group	377	204

$$t = 1.12 \quad P > .05$$

¹¹ Eysenck's standardisation group of 1,800 had mean E score 24.91, S.D. 9.71. The mean E score for the hysterics (see footnote 10) was 24.91. S.D. 9.26. However, the dysthymics produced the much lower mean E score of 17.86 (S.D. 10.02).

fact, there was no significant difference and the scores were very similar.

(b) *Acquiescence or compliance*

It was suggested that recidivists might score more highly, but there was no evidence of this.

TABLE I.2.b

"ac" Score	FS	PR
Mean score	11.21	11.14
Standard deviation	3.1	3.1
Number in group	377	204

$$t = 0.13 \text{ } P > .05$$

J. *Anthropometrical Details*

The theory of Lombroso that persistent criminals were throw-backs to an earlier stage of humanity has been almost universally rejected since Dr. Charles Goring published the results of his measurements of 1,000 criminals in 1913. However, modified versions of his physiological theories do arise, notably that of Sheldon (1949), whose finding that delinquents tend to be of the "mesomorph" type was also borne out by the Gluecks (1956). In this current work, two physical measurements were made, of the man's height and of his weight.

1. *Height.* There was no significant difference between the groups with respect to height.

Table J.1 compares the heights of our prisoners with those of Dr. Goring's, and also with two surveys of the general population: Sir Francis Galton's study of 1883, and a large-scale survey of the Army intake in 1942 (Vernon and Parry, 1949). The figures show that our subjects are markedly taller than those of 1913, but are of comparable height to non-criminals of 1942.

2. *Weight.* There was no significant difference in the mean weights of the two groups. Table J.2 shows the details and also those of the Army Intake group of 1942. This last group had a mean weight considerably lower than those of the FS and PR groups. Current medical tables suggest that our groups are of an average weight for their height and age: Black's Medical Dictionary for 1965 (Thomson, 1965) gives an average weight of 148 pounds for a man of thirty, height sixty-seven inches.

TABLE J.1

Height in inches	FS	PR	Goring's criminals 1913	Galton's Gen. Pop. 1883	Army intake 1942
Mean height	67.33	67.40	65.47	67.0	67.30
Standard deviation	2.66	2.65	—	—	—
Number in group	438	242	1,000	8,585	—

TABLE J.2

Weight in pounds	FS	PR	Army Intake 1942
Mean weight	148.98	149.51	129.4
Standard deviation	20.72	19.25	—
Number in group	438	242	—

$$t = 0.93 \quad P > .05$$

K. Medical History

1. *Incapacitating illness resulting in permanent disability.* There was no difference between the groups with respect to this

TABLE L.2

Psychiatric disturbance	FS		PR	
	No.	%	No.	%
No history	344	78.5	171	70.6
Certified insane	3	0.7	5	2.1
In-patient compulsory	3	0.7	—	—
In-patient voluntary	19	4.3	12	5.0
Out-patient compulsory	3	0.7	—	—
Out-patient voluntary	5	1.1	—	—
Psychiatric referral	39	8.9	38	15.7
Marked symptoms	22	5.0	16	6.6
Total	438	99.9	242	100.0

No history v. All other categories: $\chi^2 = 4.84$ 1 df $P < .05$

No history v. Other categories except psychiatric referral: By inspection of χ^2 , $P > .05$

L. *Psychiatric History*

1. *Subnormality*. Fewer than 1 per cent. of the men in either group had been under certificate for subnormality at some time.

There was no difference between the groups in this.

2. *Psychiatric disturbance*. More of the PR group had a recorded psychiatric history. Table L.2 shows details. There is a particularly large difference in the number of psychiatric referrals. Since it was suggested that this might be due to routine psychiatric examination on discharge from the Services and more PRs had served, we made another comparison excluding psychiatric referrals and in this case found no significant difference.

Definitions:

In-patient compulsory: Persons of diminished responsibility who have been ordered by the court to be detained in a psychiatric hospital (section 60 of the Criminal Justice Act 1948); persons placed on probation, a condition of which is that they receive psychiatric treatment at a hospital (section 4 of the Criminal Justice Act 1948).

In-patient voluntary: Men who have been advised to enter a psychiatric hospital by a doctor on a voluntary basis.

Out-patient compulsory: Section 4 of the Criminal Justice Act 1948 lays down that the court may order a person to be placed on probation, a condition of that order being that he receive psychiatric treatment.

Out-patient voluntary: Voluntary treatment on a sessional basis as an out-patient at a psychiatric hospital or clinic.

Psychiatric referral: Includes any occasion on which a man may have been seen by a psychiatrist, but no active treatment followed.

Marked symptoms: Those men who were considered by the psychologist to be in need of psychiatric treatment at the time when they were interviewed for this research project.

3. *Subnormality in immediate (natural) family*. Fewer than 5 per cent. of the men gave a history of subnormality in their family. Most of the reported cases were siblings, rather than parents. This information is not regarded as being very reliable. There were no significant differences between the groups.

4. *Psychiatric disorder (including suicide attempts) in the immediate family*. About 10 per cent. of each group gave such a history. Once again the incidence was found to be slightly greater amongst siblings than parents and once again there were no significant differences between the groups.

5. *Psychotherapy in prison (for PR group only)*. Less than 1 per cent. of the group had received psychotherapy during the previous sentence. A similar percentage stated that they had been referred but

had not received treatment. Some of these may have been considered for treatment, perhaps as a result of remarks made in court, and may have assumed that they were referred for treatment when in fact no recommendation was made.

M. Current Conviction and Sentence

1. *Length of current sentence.* The FS group had a considerably higher proportion of men than the PR group who were serving a sentence of twenty-eight days or less, whilst more of the PR group were serving between one and six months. The proportion of each group serving over twelve months was very similar. Nearly 80 per cent. of each group were serving sentences of twelve months or less.

In Table M.1, the second column of percentages for the PR group refers to the distribution of the group for the previous sentence and is included for comparison.

TABLE M.1

Sentence length	FS		PR		PR Previous %
	No.	%	No.	%	
1 months or less	75	17.1	26	10.7	18.2
3 months " "	100	22.8	77	31.8	24.4
6 " " "	70	16.0	54	22.3	15.3
12 " " "	99	22.6	39	16.1	16.1
18 " " "	36	8.2	14	5.8	2.9
2 years " "	25	5.7	12	5.0	2.5
3 " " "	21	4.8	10	4.1	1.2
5 " " "	12	2.7	9	3.7	1.2
Over 5 years	—	—	1	0.4	—
Borstal training	—	—	—	—	18.2
• Total	438	99.9	• 242	99.9	100.0

1 month or less v. 3–6 months v. 12 months–5 years and over:

$$\chi^2 = 15.90 \text{ 2 df } P < .001$$

2. *Nature of current offence.* The majority of men in both groups were sentenced for crimes of breaking and entering and theft, false pretences and fraud. The proportion of offences of this kind was, however, considerably larger for the PR group, although for false pretences and fraud there was a non-significant tendency for the FS group to have the higher proportion. The FS group had a higher proportion of sex crimes, and a non-significant tendency to more offences of

violence. There were no significant differences in the proportions of motoring offences, drunkenness or child neglect.

In Table M.2 the last column of percentages again refers to the PRs' previous sentence.

TABLE M.2

Current offence	FS		PR		PR Previous %
	No.	%	No.	%	
Breaking and entering	77	17.6	52	21.5	23.6
Larceny	124	28.3	99	40.9	34.7
Violence	51	11.6	18	7.4	10.7
Heterosexual	25	5.7	8	3.3	3.3
Homosexual	19	4.3	1	0.4	0.8
False pretences, fraud	51	11.6	18	7.4	7.0
Motoring	30	6.8	15	6.2	5.8
Drunk	15	3.4	9	3.7	3.7
Child neglect	4	0.9	2	0.8	1.7
Others	42	9.6	20	8.3	8.7
Totals	438	99.8	242	99.9	100

Breaking and entering, larceny, fraud and false pretences v. All others:

$$\chi^2 = 9.49 \text{ 1 df } P < .01$$

Breaking and entering and larceny v. All others:

$$\chi^2 = 17.01 \text{ 1 df } P < .001$$

Violence, sex and fraud v. All others: $\chi^2 = 39.25 \text{ 1 df } P < .001$

Violence v. All others: $\chi^2 = 2.58 \text{ 1 df } P > .05$

Sex v. All others: $\chi^2 = 7.82 \text{ 1 df } P < .01$

Fraud v. All others: $\chi^2 = 2.58 \text{ 1 df } P > .05$

3. Some features of the current offence

(a) *Accomplices*

Rather more of the PRs had committed their offence alone or with one other who had a criminal record, whereas more of the FSs had been with two or more other people, or with one other who did not have a record, but these differences were not significant.

The proportion of men in the PR group who had committed the offence alone had increased by 8 per cent. for this offence compared with their last one.

(b) *Planning*

57.5 per cent. of the FS and 55 per cent. of the PR group were considered to have planned their offence, leaving nearly half of

each group who were considered to have committed the offence with little forethought. The difference between the groups is not significant. About 56 per cent. of the PR group were considered to have planned the previous offence which led to imprisonment.

(c) *Involvement of alcohol and/or drugs*

Only five FSs and nine PRs had committed the offence to get funds for more drink or drugs or to obtain them by theft. The majority of both groups claimed that neither drink nor drugs had played any part in the events surrounding the current offence.

32 per cent. of the PRs and 25 per cent. of the FSs claimed that the offence was committed under the influence of drink or drugs (we did not separate the two). This difference was not significant. For the PRs, about 25 per cent. said their previous offence was committed under the influence of drink or drugs.

4. *Disposal during period of awaiting sentence.* A very similar proportion of the two groups (about one quarter) were sentenced without delay and not remanded. Of those who were remanded, a higher proportion of the FS group were given bail, rather than being remanded in custody. (Excluding "No remand," "Mixed remand" and "No details," $\chi^2 = 7.49$ 1 df $P < .01$)

N. Criminal Record

1. *Age at first recorded conviction.* A number of studies of adult recidivists carried out in several countries have shown that there are many offenders who receive their first conviction in their mid-twenties or later (see, e.g., Wootton, 1959, p. 157); there is some support for

TABLE N.1

Age at first conviction	FS		PR	
	No.	%	No.	%
Under 21	143	32.6	146	60.1
Between 21 and 30	163	37.2	72	29.6
30 and over	132	30.1	24	10.3
Totals	438	99.9	242	100.0

Under twenty-one v. twenty-one to thirty v. thirty and over:

$$\chi^2 = 60.4 \text{ 2 df } P < .001$$

this in the current study. However, it is the FS group in this study which has a much larger preponderance of men first convicted later in life. The PR group, by contrast, has a very high proportion of men who were first convicted in adolescence. Table N.1 shows the distributions of age at first conviction, Table N.1a summarises the data.¹²

TABLE N.1.a

Summary of data for age at first conviction	FS	PR
Mean age	27.7	19.7
Standard deviation	11.3	9.6
Mode age	21	13
Age range	8-60	8-47
Number in group	438	242

$$t = 11.58 \text{ } P < .001$$

2. *Number of previous convictions.* As was to be expected, men of the FS group had fewer previous convictions than men of the PR group. There were 35.6 per cent. of the FS group who had no previous convictions. The number of convictions up to eight was recorded separately, whilst nine or more previous convictions were grouped together. Table N.2 summarises the data.

TABLE N.2

Previous convictions	FS	%	PR	%
0	156	35.6	—	—
1-3	195	44.5	100	41.3
4-9+	87	19.9	142	58.6
Totals	438	100.0	242	99.9

$$\text{One to three v. Four or more: } \chi^2 = 39.87 \text{ 1 df } P < .001$$

3. *Nature of offences comprising previous convictions.* When the 282 men of the FS group who have previous convictions are compared with the PR group, it emerges that the latter have significantly more convictions for larceny, and breaking and entering, and for violence.

¹² Sentence at first recorded conviction was also recorded but errors in the tabulated figures made it impossible to draw any valid conclusions.

TABLE N.2.a

Previous convictions	FS	PR
Mean number	1.09	1.89
Mode number	0	4
Range	0-9+	0-9+
Number in group	438	242

Larceny, etc. (including larceny with violence and/or sex) v. All other offences: $\chi^2 = 14.38$ 1 df $P < .001$

Violence (including violence with larceny and/or sex) v. All other offences: $\chi^2 = 13.11$ 1 df $P < .001$

There were no significant differences in previous convictions for sex offences. A higher proportion of the FS group had had convictions for offences other than larceny, violence and sex.

Larceny and breaking and entering, violence, sex v. All others (*i.e.*, motoring, drunkenness, child neglect and others):

$$\chi^2 = 13.74$$
 1 df $P < .001$

4. *Previous sentences received.* In all cases those FS men who had had no previous convictions have been excluded (*i.e.*, 156 men, or 35.6 per cent. of the whole group), leaving a total of 282 men.

(a) *Bound over or conditionally discharged*

A greater proportion of the PR group had received this sentence at some time (43.8 per cent. as compared with 36.0 per cent.) $\chi^2 = 3.90$ 1 df $P < .05$

(b) *Probation*

There was no significant difference in the proportion of each group who had been placed on probation (about 46 per cent.).

(c) *Fined*

A high proportion (71 per cent. and 75 per cent.) of each group had at some time been fined. There was no significant difference between the groups.

(d) *Borstal training and imprisonment*

By definition, none of the FS group could have served a prison or borstal sentence. Of the PRs, 18.2 per cent. had had a borstal sentence and 81.8 per cent. a prison sentence.

5. *Interval at risk after last sentence.* For those who had served a sentence of borstal or imprisonment, the period at risk was calculated from the time of release until the subsequent date of re-conviction. For those whose last sentence had been non-custodial,

the interval at risk was taken from the date of that sentence until the date of the current conviction. The FS group (excluding the 35 per cent. first offenders) contained a greater number of men who had been re-convicted within a short period of their last sentence than did the PR group. * Table N.5 gives details.:

TABLE N.5

Interval at risk	FS		PR	
	No.	%	No.	%
3 months or less	51	18.0	23	9.1
6 " " "	41	14.5	28	11.6
9 " " "	28	9.9	21	8.7
12 " " "	19	6.7	14	5.8
18 " " "	17	6.0	24	9.9
2 years " "	15	5.3	12	5.0
3 " " "	20	7.1	29	12.0
5 " " "	21	7.4	25	10.3
Over 5 years	71	25.1	66	27.3
Totals	283	100	242	100.1

Under twelve months v. Five years or less v. Over five years:

$$\chi^2 = 11.09 \text{ 2 df } P < .01$$

6. *Civil offences.* There were 6.8 per cent. FS and 7.4 per cent. PR who had been at some time civil prisoners. The difference was not significant.

7. *Time spent in prison on remand and/or as civil prisoner.* As was to be expected, the PRs had spent longer in all in prison on remand (*cf.*, section M.4) and as civil prisoners.

None v. Four weeks or less v. More than four weeks:

$$\chi^2 = 84.91 \text{ 1 df } P < .001$$

The Follow-up

As well as a direct comparison between the FS and PR groups, we made a comparison between the repeaters and non-repeaters from the FS group. The first comparison attempts to show that a recidivist group will be more socially isolated and inadequate than a first sentence group. The second comparison attempts to show that those individuals in a first sentence group who are already more socially isolated and inadequate are the individuals who will recidivate. There are at least

two reasons why it would be risky to assume that the first comparison, between the FS and PR groups, tests the hypothesis behind the second comparison. In the first place, because of the varying lengths of their first sentence and of the interval at risk before their second sentence, the PR men did not all serve their first sentence at the same time.

Secondly, when the 680 men were interviewed it was known which of them were FS and which were PR men, and this knowledge may in some instances have influenced the findings. This is unlikely to have happened with the more objective facts like the intactness of marriage or the age of first conviction, but the more subjective data like the happiness of home life, the extent of religious observance or the maintenance of contact with relatives and friends, could clearly be influenced by the attitudes of the men or of the interviewer. It therefore seemed advisable to make both comparisons and see how far the differentiating factors were similar.

We also decided to follow up the PR group to see whether the repeaters provided any further evidence of a relationship between social and personal inadequacy and recidivism.

1. *Subsequent convictions*

In the autumn of 1962, we asked the Criminal Records Office to give us details of any further convictions collected by the men. Of the original 680 men, forty had died, were still serving their original sentence or could not be traced. The follow-up analysis therefore covered 640 men, of whom 405 were FS and 235 were PR. The men had been released and at risk for varying periods when the follow-up enquiry was made, but of those who had not been reconvicted, nearly 90 per cent. had been at risk for over two years. At the time of the follow-up far more PRs (67.3 per cent.) than FSs (38.1 per cent.) had

TABLE O.1

Subsequent convictions	FS		PR	
	No.	%	No.	%
None	251	61.9	77	32.7
1-2	110	27.2	106	45.2
3-4	36	8.9	36	15.3
5 or more	8	2.0	16	6.8
Totals	405	100.0	235	100.0

None v. One or more: $\chi^2 = 49.97$ 1 df $P < .001$

been reconvicted, although the FSs had been at risk longer (see Table M.1).

Table O.1 shows the number of subsequent convictions.

2. First subsequent sentence

67.3 per cent. of those PRs who had been reconvicted had been given prison sentences, compared with 52.6 per cent. of the reconvicted FSs. Table O.2 shows their disposal. Considering the whole group of 405 FSs we find that only 20.2 per cent. were re-imprisoned, compared with the expected 33.3 per cent. (see p. 130) but it is likely that more would be re-imprisoned later. Compare the PR group, half of whom had been at risk for more than two years before their second sentence (see Table N.5).

TABLE O.2

First subsequent sentence	FS		PR	
	No.	%	No.	%
Bound over or discharged	3	2.0	11	7.1
Probation	21	13.6	12	7.7
Fine	48	31.2	28	17.3
Imprisonment	81	52.6	106	67.3
Probation order with hospital residence	1	0.6	1	0.6
Mental hospital				
Totals	154	100.0	158	100.0

Imprisonment v. All others: $\chi^2 = 6.38$ 1 df $P < .02$

3. Differences between repeaters and non-repeaters

Since there were only eighty-one re-imprisoned FSs (a group which should be equivalent to our original PR group), we used instead the 154 re-convicted FSs, whom we shall refer to as FS(R), and compared them with the 251 FSs who were not re-convicted, whom we shall refer to as FS(NR). We also compared the 158 re-convicted PRs—PR(R)—with the seventy-seven PRs who were not re-convicted—PR(NR).¹³

Twenty-two of the seventy items in the schedule were tabulated for the follow-up study. Table O.3 summarises the differences found.

¹³ Since the FS(R)/FS(NR) comparison is more relevant than the PR(R)/PR(NR) comparison it was less important that this decision left us with a PR(NR) group of only seventy-seven.

In all cases the direction of the difference—where there is a significant difference—is the same for the three pairs of groups (*i.e.*, PR and FS; FS(R) and FS(NR); PR(R) and PR(NR)).

In general we find that items which distinguish FS and PR also distinguish FS (non-repeater) and FS (repeater). Items which distinguished PR and FS but did not distinguish FS(R) from FS(NR) were:

- (i) Remembers home as unhappy;
- (ii) Held longest job for short period;
- (iii) Served Regular Service engagement;
- (iv) Home disrupted while at school;
- (v) Psychiatric history or marked symptoms.

TABLE O.3

Item*	Significance of difference		
	PR/FS	FS(R)/ FS(NR)	PR(R)/ PR(NR)
Poor or no contact with friends and relatives other than immediate family <i>v.</i> Good contact	$P < .001$	$P < .01$	N.S.
Drinks to excess <i>v.</i> Not	do.	$P < .02$	N.S.
Remembers home as unhappy <i>v.</i> Happy	do.	N.S.	N.S.
Went to approved school <i>v.</i> Not	do.	$P < .001$	N.S.†
Unskilled <i>v.</i> Skilled and white collar	do.	$.06 > P > .05$	N.S.
Unemployed at time of offence† <i>v.</i> Employed	do.	$P < .001$	N.S.
Held longest job for short period: eighteen months or less <i>v.</i> Two to five years <i>v.</i> Five years and over	do.	N.S.	$P < .05$
Large number of jobs in last five years: two or less <i>v.</i> Three to eight <i>v.</i> Nine and over	do.	$P < .001$	N.S.
Served at least part of regular Service engagement <i>v.</i> War Service. Exempt Unfit etc.	do.	N.S.†	N.S.
Committed† for breaking and entering or larceny <i>v.</i> Violence, sex, fraud, false pretences	do.	$P < .02$	N.S.
Poor or no contact with immediate family <i>v.</i> Good contact	$P < .01$	$P < .001$	$P < .01$
Education interrupted by frequent truancy <i>v.</i> Not	do.	$P < .05$	N.S.†
Offence† not sex <i>v.</i> Offence homo- or hetero-sexual	do.	$P < .001$	Numbers too small

PRIMARY RECIDIVISM IN ADULT MEN

Item*	Significance of difference		
	PR/FS	FS(R)/ FS(NR)	PR(R)/ PR(NR)
Property offence† v. Offence not against property	do.	$P < .001$	$P < .05$
Four or more previous† convictions v. Three or less	do.	$P < .001$	N.S.‡
Has broken marriage v. Marriage intact	$P < .05$	$P < .01$	N.S.
Not living with family at arrest† v. Living with family	do.	$P < .001$	$P < .001$
Home disrupted while at school v. Not	do.	N.S.	N.S.
Psychiatric history or marked symptoms v. None	do.	N.S.	N.S.‡
Age (repeaters younger) 21-29 v. 30-39 v. 40 and over	N.S.	$P < .001$	$P < .05$
Marital status (repeaters more often single) single v. Married at any time	do.||	$P < .001$	N.S.
Gambles to excess v. Not	do.	N.S.	N.S.

* First mentioned applies to PR, FS(R) and PR(R) unless otherwise stated.

† Refers to current offence or conviction of main study.

‡ Difference is in opposite direction from that of main study.

|| Difference is in opposite direction from that of follow-up study.

The last two of these were significant only at the .05 level in the main study. Although the longest job held did not distinguish the FS(R), he was distinguished on another item as a man who had held a large number of jobs in the previous five years. The other two items distinguished PR from FS at the .001 level of confidence and their failure to distinguish FS(R) from FS(NR) therefore invites speculation. For instance, the PR stating that his childhood was an unhappy one might have been searching for an excuse for his second lapse leading to prison. Also the interviewer knew he was a PR and may unintentionally have guided the man into this answer. Perhaps, then, it is the FS/PR result which is suspect.

The Regular Service engagement may have been undertaken by the PR after his first sentence, in an attempt to make a fresh start, whereas we have no information about such an engagement begun by our FSs after their original sentence.

There were also two items which distinguished the FS(R) from the FS(NR) that had not earlier distinguished the PR from the FS.

These were:

- (i) Age (repeaters younger);

(ii) Marital status (repeaters more often single).

In both cases the probability level was .001.

The second of these would follow from the first if we assume that the older men were more likely to be married. However, the PR repeaters were also younger but *not* more often single.

As for the first if it had *not* been true we should have had to question the composition of our original groups with respect to age. The PR group—being further on in their careers—might be expected to be older in general than the FS group, and it is only if the *younger* men are the ones to be reconvicted that it is conceivable that these two groups should have had the same age range. This is consistent with the fact that the average age at conviction has been falling for some years. (See, *e.g.*, *Criminal Statistics*, 1963, p. 6.)

Leaving aside the items mentioned above, we have agreement with our main study that a primary recidivist more often has poor or no contact with close or distant relatives or friends, is less often living with family of origin or marriage, more often has a broken marriage. He interrupted his education by truanting, went to approved school, is unskilled and often unemployed. He has large numbers of jobs. He drinks to excess. His offence is likely to be a property one, rather than sexual, violent or fraudulent, and by this stage he has often had four or more previous convictions. He is no more likely than the first sentence man to gamble heavily, unless one likes to call the life of crime itself a gambling one.

When we turn to our comparison of the PR repeater and the PR non-repeater, we find that very few of these items distinguish them. The PR(R) is more likely to be living away from his family than with it and to have poor or no contact with immediate relatives. He has more often held his longest job for a short period only, and his offence is more likely to be a property one. Numbers are too small to say definitely but he tends not to be a sex offender. Again the younger men were more often reconvicted. On no other counts did we get significant differences.

Discussion of Results and Conclusions

We have not attempted to show how far a more advanced recidivist group can be predicted from a less advanced one; instead we have examined the differences between the groups in an attempt to demonstrate an ongoing process of recidivism. To be satisfactory a predictive study should involve the same groups of individuals at the stages

from which and to which prediction is aimed. In the present research—originally conceived as an exploratory one—the short cut technique of regarding the PR group as a representative sample of failures from the FS group was used, and although this can be justified (for example by the follow-up study), there is considerable doubt about the justification of using this short cut method as a basis for prediction. One has only to note that over a third of the PR group had been at risk for at least five years prior to their present sentence to see that they were committing their previous crimes under what were possibly very different social conditions from those existing when the FS group were committing their corresponding crimes. We will examine the findings, then, to see how far they cast light on the process of recidivism and, in particular, we will examine the main hypothesis set out in the Introduction, that is, that recidivism is correlated with an increasing isolation from society.

Our group of Primary Recidivists tended to remember their homes as being less happy than did the First Sentence men. Whether this means they were actually less happy as children we do not know, although this is likely to have been true of those—a higher proportion than of the FSs—whose homes actually broke up while they were at school. Also it is notable that more of them were sent away from home to an approved school. As adults they have less contact with their parents, brothers and sisters than do the FS men.

Having in many cases lost touch with his family of origin it could be suggested that the PR man depends more upon his distant relatives or his friends, and it is therefore interesting to find that his contact with these people is also slight or non-existent. Moreover, although he is just as likely as the FS man to get married, he is more likely to separate from his wife. It may be that a prison sentence is the precipitating factor in ending relationships which are already tenuous. In some cases he will be found living with another woman, but he has a tendency to find his accommodation unsatisfactory. He changes his jobs more frequently than the FS man and it is therefore unlikely that he forms close relationships with fellow workers, although we have no direct evidence of this. We may find that if he mixes at all it is with casual acquaintances in pubs and this is supported to some extent by the finding that he drinks more than does the FS.

How far is the isolation we have demonstrated due to the recidivist's personality? The PRs got higher scores on the "N" Scale of the M.P.I. and we can speculate as to how far this greater neuroticism

has affected the recidivist's ability to maintain social contacts and personal relationships. On no other test did we demonstrate any gross differences in personality between our FSs and PRs.

We had attempted to discover whether the PRs were more socially isolated than the FSs with reference to their spare-time activities, but we phrased our questions in such a way that we allowed for too much subjectivity on the part of the interviewer, so we threw out that part of the data. When trying to group specific activities in relation to the social isolation hypothesis, we found considerable difficulties. In another part of the schedule we asked men whether they gambled excessively and found no difference between the FSs and PRs in this respect, but it is possible that more of one group who gambled were sitting on their own filling in Pools coupons, whereas more of the other group were gambling in a more social atmosphere. We have no evidence for this. Again, we found a tendency for FSs who had a religion to practise it in civil life more than did the PRs, which might indicate better social integration rather than greater religious devotion.

When we consider the follow-up study, the most striking finding is that factors which distinguish the FS and PR groups also distinguish the FS (non-repeaters) and FS (repeaters)—as we would hope—but do not distinguish the PR (non-repeaters) and PR (repeaters). In other words, the differences that might help to discriminate between those who will or will not be reconvicted (or re-imprisoned)¹⁴ after their first sentence may not be any help when it comes to distinguishing recidivists further on in their careers. The factors which determine whether or not a man comes back to prison for a third or fourth time are not necessarily the same as those which determine whether or not he will come the first or second time. We find, for example, that approved school experience distinguishes PR from FS and FS(R) from FS(NR) but does *not* distinguish PR(R) from PR(NR). Perhaps for recidivists later in their careers the total time spent in institutions of one kind and another will be a better discriminator than the simple fact of having been to approved school or not.

On the other hand some factors continue to discriminate. For example, there were progressively smaller proportions of sex offenders as we went from first to second to third sentences. This may be because many sex offences are of the "once only" type—incest, or

¹⁴ Note that the FS and PR groups are experiencing their first and second *prison sentences*, respectively, whereas the FS(NR) and FS(R) groups are, respectively, men who have been *imprisoned* once and men, who, having been imprisoned once are *re-convicted*, not necessarily sentenced to re-imprisonment.

intercourse with a girl friend under sixteen whom the man subsequently marries—or may be because prison is more effective for these offenders (who tend not to be accepted by their fellow prisoners), or may be that older, wiser sexual deviants take more care not to be caught.

In conclusion, we may claim to have demonstrated some striking differences between first sentence men and those who return for a second sentence, and these findings have important relevance to the problems of predicting and preventing recidivism.

Postscript

There are many points which arise from this research, some being ways in which a similar study might be better done in the future, some being suggestions for further research and some being practical implications:

(a) *Improvements for similar study:*

- (i) Include London sample.
- (ii) Re-interview FS failures on second sentence.
- (iii) Include a study of spare-time activities.
- (iv) More detailed look at job record—do jobs get shorter and shorter? Reasons for changing?
- (v) More detailed look at risk interval—25 per cent. of our FSs and 27 per cent. of our PRs had been at risk more than five years—how does this relate to the desocialisation hypothesis?

(b) *Suggestions for further research:*

- (i) Can we relate total amount of time spent in institutions (including children's homes perhaps) to recidivism?
- (ii) Comparison of data with general population norms.
- (iii) Further attempts to demonstrate personality differences¹⁵ between recidivists and non-recidivists.
- (iv) Attempt to determine aspects of social isolation which are a direct result of a prison sentence.
- (v) Study recidivists' attempts to make a fresh start. What do they try? What goes wrong?
- (vi) Construct and test a prediction scale for adult offenders—perhaps the most pressing research area delineated by the present study.

¹⁵ Some have been made. See, e.g., Gough *et al.* (1965) and Panton, J. H. (1962).

- (vii) Try to distinguish those recidivists who are *not* socially isolated because they are socialised members of a criminal sub-culture. Perhaps a separate prediction scale will be necessary for them.
- (c) *Practical implications:*
 - (i) Assuming that we can demonstrate that some aspects of social isolation are a direct result of serving a prison sentence, it would seem advisable to avoid giving a prison sentence if other forms of treatment are available in the community.
 - (ii) For those who are imprisoned it would seem advisable to make every attempt to keep alive their existing social contacts outside.
 - (iii) It would appear from our findings that a very large proportion of inmates might benefit from exercises in social interaction, such as group counselling and other group activities.

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APPENDIX

*Summary of differences shown between FS and PR on items * other than those used in follow-up study (See Table O.3 page 160).*

Significance of difference: $P < .001$

Prison experience in family v. None †

Forces: (a) Medical, psychiatric or SNLR v. Engagement completed satisfactorily discharge, or still serving

(b) Prison v. Detention v. No record

Current sentence: 12 months–5 years v. 3–6 months v. one month or less

Age at first conviction: Under 21 v. 21 to 30 v. 30 and over

Previous convictions: Larceny v. All others

Violence v. All others

Larceny, violence and sex v. Motoring, drunkenness
child neglect and others

Time spent in prison on remand or as civil prisoner:

More than four weeks v. four weeks or less v. None

Significance of difference: $.001 < P < .01$

Parental disharmony in childhood home v. Not mentioned

Schooling: Secondary Modern and Elementary v. Grammar and Public

Score on M.P.I. "N" Scale (PRs higher)

Current offence: Other than sex v. Sex

Remanded v. Bailed (on current charge)

Risk interval after last sentence: Over five years v. Five years or less v. Under 12 months

Significance of difference: $.01 < P < .05$

Marriage broken v. Marriage intact

Cohabiting v. Not

Economic difficulties in childhood home v. Not mentioned

Father: Unskilled v. Semi-skilled v. Skilled

Regular Service engagement v. All other types of engagement

Intelligence against inmate norms: Grades 5 and 6 v. 3 and 4 v. 1 and 2

Previous sentences: include Bound Over or Condition Discharge v. Not included

Borderline results: $.05 < P < .10$

Religious observance in civil life: Yes v. Non-committal and No

Accommodation: Not satisfied v. Satisfied with

Members of his immediate family drink or gamble v. Do not

"Unhappy childhood" men only: Father not blamed v. Father blamed

For all men: Mother blamed for childhood unhappiness v. Not

School: Other than E.S.N., Special, M.D. colony v. E.S.N., Special or M.D. colony

Score on Arithmetic Test: FSs higher

* First mentioned applies to PR unless otherwise stated.

† Siblings more often than parents for both groups.

PRIMARY RECIDIVISM IN ADULT MEN

Items on which no difference shown: P>.10

Number of children
Accommodation at time of arrest
Religious affiliation
Wife of different religious denomination
Incompatibility due to difference in religion
Drinking or gambling compared with that of immediate family
Father alive/dead when he left school
Mother alive/dead when he left school
Mother working during his school life
Mother's age at his birth
Number of siblings
Unhappiness of family due to economic difficulties
Unhappiness of family due to parental disharmony
Age on leaving school
Education interrupted by illness
Weekly income when last at work
Other contributors to family finances
Sufficiency of income
Mean score of Matrices Test
Intelligence compared with general population norms
Score on Reading Comprehension Test
Score on M.P.I. "E" Scale
Score on Californian "F" Scale (modified)
Score on "ac" Scale
Height
Weight
Permanent physical disability
Subnormality
Psychiatric history when "psychiatric referral" excluded (to exclude routine referral in Armed Services)
Subnormality in immediate family
Psychiatric disturbance in immediate family
Current conviction: Violence v. All others
Current conviction: Fraud and false pretences v. All others
Committed offence with/without accomplices
Planned Offence v. Spur of moment
Drink or drugs involved in offence
Previous convictions include sex offences v. No previous sex offences
Previous civil offences
Previous sentences include probation v. All other sentences
Previous sentences include fines v. All other sentences

A SEARCH AMONG BORSTAL GIRLS FOR THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THEIR TATTOOS*

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The Problem

THE Superintendent of Arohata Borstal approached the author for assistance because she was concerned about the growing habit of tattooing among her charges. She had tried various disciplinary measures and had also held fashion parades with tattooed Borstal girls as models in an attempt to discourage the practice of tattooing. One ex-Borstal girl was even brought back to tell the others about the social disadvantages of being tattooed and of the physical pain she suffered as her tattoos were removed. Unfortunately, neither the punishments nor the attempts to induce self-awareness among the girls had much effect on reducing the incidence of tattooing in the Borstal institution. Hence, a detailed study of the underlying causes of tattooing was required before any further attempts could be made to control it.

Preliminary considerations

Tattooing is a process by which insoluble pigment is introduced to the dermis or layer of tissue that lies about one-sixteenth of an inch below the surface of the body. The outer layers of skin tissue constantly grow and are discarded, but the underlying dermis remains relatively unchanged to leave tattoos or patterns of insoluble pigment in permanent designs. Most people get tattooed by professionals or talented amateurs, but Borstal girls tattoo themselves. The girls puncture their skin with needles, and rub ink in from biro pencils or pigment from water paints, and they are lucky to have avoided the dire consequences of tattooing that have been reported elsewhere (see Rook and Thomas, 1952). Some expressed a desire to have their

* This research project was conducted with the co-operation of the Secretary for Justice and the staff and girls of Arohata Borstal, and it was sponsored by the Internal Research Committee of Victoria University of Wellington with Mrs. G. Maxwell, M.A., as a research assistant for the statistical analysis and M. D. King as University photographer.

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tattoos removed surgically but, although five girls had been treated successfully by plastic surgeons in the preceding five years, none was fully aware of the clinical problems that were involved (see Khoo Boo-Chai, 1963; Grice, 1964; Gupta, 1965; Bjornberg and Perman, 1965; Stringer, 1966). Some girls had removed or altered their own tattoos surgically with a mixture of bleach and an antiseptic solution and with hot knives and razor blades, but a few were so emotionally labile that they replaced their excised tattoos promptly with others.

People have used paint, scars, and tattoos for centuries as marks of achievement, adornment, identification, protection, social status, and group membership (Sinclair, 1908; Encyclopaedia Britannica 1910, pp. 451-452; Hambly, 1925). Tattoos were in evidence in Ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, and Ancient Britain, and they were forbidden by the Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan religions. Tattoos became less popular in the western world during the Middle Ages except for the venturesome Rus tribe of Sweden that travelled in the Baltic (Smyser, 1965, p. 92), the Spanish Americans, and artisans of Europe (Sinclair, 1909). The explorer Banks, for example, regarded tattoos as a novelty during his voyage with Captain Cook in the South Seas in 1769 (Hooker, 1896, pp. 128-130, 231-233), and many travellers became interested in the highly decorative tattoos of the Maoris (Robley, 1896; Reed, 1963, pp. 178-179). Tattoos became popular again in Europe in the late nineteenth century to the point of being fashionable with royalty and the aristocracy (Parry, 1933, p. 98) and of evoking the support of some noble members of the House of Lords (Hansard, 279: 98, 1967). Tattooing is so widespread at present among minors and criminals in Great Britain and Sweden that it is arousing official concern (private communications, British Medical Association and Home Office, *The Guardian*, December 16, 1966; Bjornberg and Perman, *op. cit.*).

A number of explanations have been offered that might help to account for the long history of tattooing. In the late nineteenth century Laccassagne regarded tattoos as symptoms of "under-developed emotional temperament" (see Hambly, *op. cit.*, p. 16), and Lombroso as further evidence in support of his theory about the primitive atavism of criminals (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1895, p. 122; Ferrero, 1911, pp. 45, 47). More recently, Bromberg (1935), Lander and Kohn (1943), Haines and Huffman (1958), Unger (1962), Edgerton and Dingman (1963), Hamburger (1966), and Simon (1948) variously concluded from interpretive studies of several cases that

tattoos can be associated with "psychological and sexual immaturity," "neuro-psychiatric disability," "rebellion, passive dependency and aggression," "group dependence," "problems of identity," and reactions of specific cultural groups to captivity. Ferguson-Rayport *et al.* (1966) suggested that tattoos could be used to differentiate schizophrenics from personality deviants, and Mosher *et al.* (1967) concluded from a psychometric study of sixty-two prisoners that those with tattoos felt "more positively about their bodies." Raggozino (1962) drew no conclusions from his detailed psychiatric and psychometric study of one heavily tattooed persistent criminal, but Weimann (1962) was able to trace the onset and development of the symptoms in a rare case of tattooing fetishism.

Present research

Fresh hypothesis and methods were then developed for the present research because the reported studies on tattooing were rather more speculative and descriptive than methodologically precise and conclusive, and they were nearly all based upon males rather than females.

Null hypotheses

1. That the most heavily tattooed Borstal girls did not differ significantly from others on objective factors of personality.
2. That the most heavily tattooed Borstal girls did not differ significantly from others on objective social history data.
3. That Borstal girls who were the most tattooed were not the most masculine in their emotional orientation.
4. That Borstal girls who were the most tattooed were not the most criminal in their attitudes and behaviour.
5. That the most tattooed Borstal girls were not the most recalcitrant when in custody.
6. That tattooing was not a function of the length of time the Borstal girls had been in custody.
7. That tattooing was not a function of boredom in girls who required a different kind of stimulation from that which a Borstal institution provided.
8. That tattoos of Maori Borstal girls in particular and European girls in general resembled the traditional tattoos of Maoris.

Research method

The first stage was to obtain groups of tattooed and clear-skinned Borstal girls. The second stage was to obtain reliable and objective psychological, behavioural and social information that might help to discriminate between the groups of Borstal girls. The third stage was to make a descriptive and statistical analysis of the data with a view to testing certain hypotheses about the variable of tattooing. The fourth stage was to draw conclusions from the research and to offer recommendations that might help to restrict the practice of tattooing.

Stage 1: Obtaining groups

Detailed information was obtained from the Borstal Admission Register, the Punishment Register and a dossier on strip searches about the incidence of tattooing among girls in Arohata Borstal. The reported increase in the number of girls who were tattooed on entry or re-entry to the Borstal and who were punished for being tattooed while in the Borstal was confirmed and, in fact, nearly two-thirds of the Borstal population of 67 girls were found to be tattooed at the time this research began. Incidentally, a professional tattooist with a large city practice could offer no explanation for the increase reported in Borstal, and he insisted that tattooing among females was not currently fashionable. A sample of sixty-one Borstal girls consisting of twenty-seven with 7+ tattoos (Mn. 18.52), fourteen with a few tattoos (Mn. 2.21), and twenty with no tattoos was then collected over a period of four months. The subjects were invited to take part in an extension of some earlier research on "human development" (Taylor, 1967) in order to allay any anxiety and curiosity about the nature of the research without affecting their responses. The girls were assured that no information about them would be transmitted to their personal files, and that their anonymity would be preserved in any subsequent reports.

Stage 2: Obtaining data

The girls provided sentence completion type of introspective reports about tattooing, and they completed objective, reliable, and valid personality tests—the 16 P.F. Test, Pd and Mf Scales of the M.M.P.I. and a Criminal Attitude Scale (C.A.T.S., Taylor, in press). Discussions were then held with small groups about their general behaviour and their reasons for having or avoiding tattoos. Members of the disciplinary staff were asked to complete behaviour rating

scales¹ about the girls without being aware of the research design. Further information was obtained about the girls from official records, and photographs were taken to permit a closer study of some of their tattoos.

Stage 3: Descriptive and statistical analysis of the data

1. *Official information.* The official files showed that members of all three groups had very unsatisfactory backgrounds of emotional deprivation, family disruptions and conflict, and poor school and work records. There were no significant differences between the groups in their ages, types of offence committed, previous offences, number of siblings, race, and length of stay in Borstal, but the heavily tattooed girls were the youngest when they put on their first tattoos, and they tended to be middle children in large families. There were girls in all three groups who had been in child welfare institutions before coming to Borstal, but the highest proportion (15:27) was in the heavily tattooed group (3:14 moderate, 4:20 clear). All of those fifteen girls in the heavily tattooed group put on their first tattoos while they were in child welfare institutions, but only one of the three in the moderate group and none of the four in the clear group did the same. Five other girls in the heavily tattooed group and three others in the moderate group put on their tattoos before they were detained in custody. Seven other girls joined the ranks of the heavily tattooed and ten the moderately tattooed "from scratch" in Borstal. Hence, a total of twenty-five of the twenty-seven heavily tattooed girls and eleven of the fourteen moderately tattooed put on tattoos in Borstal. The heavily tattooed girls were reported as being more aggressive, unco-operative, unstable, and insecure than the girls of the other two groups, and a statistically significant number of them had been involved in escaping and violence (Table 1).

2. *Introspective reports.* The tattooed girls tended to focus their thoughts and feelings upon life within the institution, but those without tattoos were still emotionally attached to the outside world and were looking positively to the future. The tattooed girls wrote that their tattoos made them feel good, gave them a permanent record of their girl friends, demonstrated their love, united them with a group, and helped them to overcome boredom. The girls without tattoos considered that tattoos were ridiculous, would make them

¹ Copies may be obtained from the author.

conspicuous, and would make it difficult for them to fit back into the outside world after their discharge from Borstal.

3. *Discussions.* A representative group of Borstal girls classified all of the subjects according to their patterns of sexual behaviour in the institution (Table 2a), and the results showed that a statistically significant number of active homosexuals were in the heavily tattooed group (Table 2b). Only one active homosexual was without tattoos, and from several discussions with her it was clear that she had a compulsive drive to displace men while retaining her femininity rather than a desire to identify with men and lose it. The four most heavily tattooed girls admitted that they had lesbian experiences before they entered Borstal; one was a transvestite and another later became one, two had adopted male christian names, and three had male hairstyles, but the fourth had recently encountered a boy for whom she wished to change her sexual orientation. The fourth girl said that she intended to have her tattoos removed by plastic surgery, and she did in fact carry out her intention when she was released. None of the heavily tattooed girls was deterred by the punishments she received for acquiring tattoos or "wilfully wounding or inflicting injury" to herself, but all derived benefit and social status from the punishments as well as from the tattoos. Two tattooed girls were masochistic, although not quite to the extent of inflicting the self-mutilation reported by Panton (1962) and Halprin (1966).² One had substituted tattooing for an earlier habit of banging the teeth on a windowsill when she was angry with herself, while the other enjoyed pain and the sight of blood as she tattooed herself. The tattoos were sometimes put on in anger, as in the case of one girl who tattooed herself fourteen times with the name of her "darl" Mickey in the space of three days when she felt that her parents had finally rejected her (*cf.* Taylor, 1966). However, the disciplinary measures were not entirely ineffective in controlling the urge to tattoo, since they helped some of the girls with clear skins to resist tattooing themselves, and some of those with a few tattoos not to add more.

4. *Photographs.* Detailed photographs showed that the tattoos were not unlike the writing on walls in some public places, and none bore the slightest resemblance to the traditional Maori Moku or most decorative or finely-drawn Maori tattoos (*cf.*, Robley, 1896). The

² See also Barnes and Teeters (1959). pp. 352-353.

tattoos consisted mostly of names, words, or initials, with only a few phrases and symbolic drawings appearing. Only one or two girls carried the tattooed names of their male sexual partners as was apparently once the case (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1895, p. 118), but most of them bore the names of their "darls" on their limbs. Every tattoo had some meaning—for example, a tattooed facial spot and the letters "B.O.G." denoted an association with Borstal old girls, while the letters "O.K.", signs of the swastika, and the description "Hell's Angels" signified membership of particular criminal gangs. The tattooed phrases "Born shy" and "Born wild" were said by some girls to describe their basic personality characteristics, and the tattooed code-words "CHINA," and "I FLY 4 EVER" were abbreviations of "Come, Honey, I Need Action" and "I Fucking Love You For Ever." Some girls tattooed themselves with the words "LIMP," "ENGLAND" and "PAYE" as abbreviations of "Love is My Profession," "Every New Girl Likes All Night Doings," and "Pay As You Enter." One girl had the letters "E.S.U.K.L.T.F.C." tattooed on the dorsal aspect of the proximal digital phalanges to make her desires for sexual relationships known when she clasped her hands together. Others had squares of tattooed dots on the hands to signify "find them, 'phone them, fuck them, forget them," with the paired associations of "mild" and "bitter," "milk" and "water," "hot" and "cold" around their nipples. A number of girls had the familiar emblems "LOVE" and "HATE" tattooed on both hands like Borstal boys, with the figure of The Saint drawn around the "O" of the word "LOVE."

Some attention was then given to the origin of the tattooing of knuckles with the words "love" and "hate" among Borstal boys and girls. Some said that the words "love" and "hate" described the extremes between which their feelings vacillated, and one particular Borstal boy is reported to have said that he used his two hands for different purposes, the one marked "love" for sexual stimulation and the other marked "hate" for fighting. However, a search of the admission records at Invercargill Borstal for Boys confirmed the recollection of senior male Borstal officers and male recidivists that the words "love" and "hate" on the hands appeared in 1957 to supersede The Saint symbol as the identification marks of Borstal boys. Further enquiries led to the discovery that a film of the book *Night of the Hunter* (Grubb, 1954) featured a bogus and criminal preacher whose fingers were tattooed with the words "love" and

"hate." The film was distributed in New Zealand in 1956, and it is plausible that it might have influenced the tattooing of Borstal boys in copying the tattoos. The recent appearance of the same tattooed words on the hands of some Borstal girls might suggest that the sexes are beginning to share a common emotional orientation and criminal outlook to a greater degree than in the past. As a matter of interest, criminals and delinquents appear to be the only people who tattoo their hands in the Western world. Professional tattooists and the keenest of their customers regard tattooed hands as socially offensive. The Iban tribe of Sarawak, however, tattoo the hands of successful headhunters (Morrison, 1962, p. 195).

5. *Objective, reliable and valid personality tests* (Table 3). The 16 P.F. Test results revealed four statistically significant differences and two near-significant differences on factors of personality between the heavily tattooed group and the group with clear skins. The former was lower on super-ego strength (Factor G), and more forthright (Factor N), and radical (Factor Q₁), with higher ergic tension (Factor Q₄) than the latter, with a strong tendency towards the paranoid (Factor L) and low self-integration (Factor Q₃). The moderately tattooed group occupied an intermediary position on most of the factors just reported while showing more evidence of conservatism and less tension. The three groups also showed distinct differences on Cattell's second order factor of anxiety (1957 with 1964 supplement), with the most tattooed group reflecting the most anxiety and those without tattoos the least. The masculinity/femininity scale of the M.M.P.I. and the C.A.T.S. showed further evidence of the progression of sexual confusion from the heavily tattooed group through the moderately tattooed to the clear skins.

6. *Rating Scales* (Table 4). The heavily tattooed girls indulged in the most conversation about crime (Scale 3), corresponded less frequently with their families (Scale 9), and in turn received less correspondence and visits from their families (Scale 10) than the moderately tattooed group and the clear skins. There was also a strong tendency for the heavily tattooed girls to show less interest in hobbies and spare time interests in the Borstal than did girls in the other two groups (Scale 11).

Stage 4: Conclusions and recommendations

The descriptive and statistical analysis of the data from official

records, introspective reports, discussions, photographs, psychological tests, and rating scales, was sufficient to establish that there were significant differences between the three groups of heavily tattooed, moderately tattooed, and clear skin borstal girls. The heavily tattooed girls were the most aggressive and defiant with the highest rate of absconding from custodial institutions. They were the most criminal and the most sexually disoriented in their attitudes and behaviour than either of the other two groups, and they did not occupy their leisure time in the same way as the other Borstal girls. The heavily tattooed girls were more radical than other Borstal girls and this might have been one of their reasons for avoiding the more socially acceptable interests and hobbies that other girls enjoyed. Their high levels of ergic tension might probably find outlets through various vigorous physical activities rather than through the normal classes in art, drama, handicrafts, or scholastic work. The fact that they also had the least contact with their families might also be a contributing factor to their emotional and behavioural insecurity.

More specifically, the evidence from the research was such that the null hypotheses about the heavily tattooed Borstal girls could be treated in the following way:

- No. 1. Rejected—because they differ from others in objective factors of personality.
- No. 2. Accepted—because they did not differ from others on their objective social history data.
- No. 3. Rejected—because they were the most masculine in their emotional orientation.
- No. 4. Rejected—because they were the most criminal in their attitudes and behaviour.
- No. 5. Rejected—because they were the most recalcitrant when in custody.
- No. 6. Rejected—because they had spent longer in training institutions for delinquents than had girls from other groups.
- No. 7. Rejected—because their underlying tension was not relieved by the kind of outlets provided in the Borstal institutions.
- No. 8. Rejected—because the tattoos of Maori and European girls were similar and quite unlike the traditional tattoos of either Maori men or women.

Recommendations

It is perhaps too much to expect that the staff of any institution will be so perceptive and sensitive to human needs that it can devise satisfactory remedial programmes for every inmate. However, unless such an ideal is kept in mind, there will either be the constant fear of depersonalisation (Goffman, 1958) that has been observed clinically (Taylor, 1960, 1961), or further demonstrations of defiance and rebellion. Arising from the present research, it is clear that those girls who are the most heavily tattooed are in the greatest need of help in coping with their emotional conflicts and their masculine and criminal identification, and their inner tension is such that they need particular outlets. It is therefore recommended that those girls who are already tattooed might benefit from intensive individual and group counselling, together with specialised programmes of physical activity during their spare time in the evenings and at weekends. The combined forms of counselling should be designed in such a way as to provide alternative emotional models with which the girls might identify, and the physical activity might provide them with more acceptable outlets for their high reserves of tension. At the same time their heterosexual contacts might be increased by encouraging their correspondence with and visits from males. The practice at present is to permit the Borstal girls to contact only those males to whom they are formally engaged, but this rule could be relaxed to advantage. Incidentally, the increasing proportion of male and female staff at Arohata Borstal should have a long-term effect in helping to stabilise the unstable and to support the less mature through the critical time of their adolescence while in custody. An attempt should also be made to stimulate family cohesion by encouraging the girls to keep in regular contact with their families, and their families in turn to write to them and visit them. In many instances the family relationships of the Borstal girls are so confused or non-existent that they might only be resolved or revived by itinerant social workers who are based at the institution. It should also be possible to develop a prediction scale to identify and to take remedial action with those new arrivals in Borstal who might otherwise become disruptive and heavily tattooed.

However, the personality of Borstal girls is such that they are not motivated towards co-operating in *any* therapeutic programme (cf., Snyder, 1961, pp. 123-124), and some additional or alternative short-term procedures must be considered. It is therefore recommended that chemists be approached with a view to producing a suitable

marking liquid that might be made available for the girls but which would dissolve through natural processes over a period of about three to six months instead of remaining insoluble. Girls who then insisted on tattooing themselves despite any punishments might avoid many of the long-term repercussions of tattooing by using less durable pigment or even a relatively durable skin cosmetic. As a further substitute for tattooing, some girls might be encouraged to make and design jackets or blouses with insignia to wear in their leisure time.

Those girls with a moderate desire to tattoo themselves might be discouraged a little from starting the habit if, as Bjorman and Perman (1965) suggest, prophylactic information about the social and medical risks of tattooing is made available as a routine to all inmates on admission to Borstal. Those girls who are already tattooed should be encouraged to have their tattoos removed by plastic surgery if there is a good chance that their attitudes, behaviour, and personality have so changed that they will not begin to tattoo themselves again. It might help the girls to resist further tattooing if they were made responsible for repaying part of the clinical costs of removing tattoos as their financial circumstances permit because financial involvement does sometimes influence subsequent behaviour. It is possible that the removal of tattoos might itself stimulate changes in the underlying personality of Borstal girls, but the chance is so slight and the pressure on plastic surgeons is already so great that a policy for the selective removal of tattoos is indicated.

Summary

Sixty-one Borstal girls were split into three groups according to the frequency of their tattoos, and comparative studies were made of their social histories and of their performance on certain psychological tests and rating scales. The results demonstrated that more of the girls with many tattoos had spent long periods in different institutions than had girls in other groups, they were most out of touch with their families, and they were the most criminal in their attitudes and aggressive in their behaviour. The heavily tattooed girls were also the most masculine in their sexual orientation and behaviour, with significantly higher tension and anxiety than girls in both of the other groups. It was suggested that the practice of tattooing might only be effectively controlled if the special psychological and social needs of the "tattoo-prone" girls are met, but it might also be possible to introduce more

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acceptable methods by which those needs which cannot be modified might be controlled.

Similar research into tattooing is at present being conducted by the author with seven other sample populations of both sexes in an attempt to make a comprehensive study of the psychological and social problems involved.

TABLE I

Showing the relationship between heavily tattooed girls and serious breaches of discipline

	Involved with escaping and violence while in custody	Minor infringements of discipline	Totals
Group A Many tattoos	13	14	27
Groups B and C	6	28	34
Totals	19	42	61

$$\chi^2 \text{ 6.56, d.f.1, } p < .05$$

TABLE 2a

Showing the classification by the girls of each other according to their sexual behaviour while in the institution

	Group A Many tattoos	Group B Few tattoos	Group C Clear	Totals
Active homosexual	12	3	1	16
Passive homosexual	7	6	11	24
Mixed homosexual	5	3	1	9
Heterosexual	3	2	7	12
Totals	27	14	20	61

TABLE 2b

Showing the distribution of active homosexuals in the groups

	Group A Many tattoos	Group B and Group C	Totals
Active homosexuals	12	4	16
Other combined classifications	15	30	45
Totals	27	34	61

$$X^2 = 8.60, 1 \text{ d.f. } p < .01$$

TABLE 3

Showing the difference between groups of tattooed Borstal girls on psychological tests

	Group A Many tattoos N: 27	Group B Few tattoos N: 14	Group C Clear N: 20	t tests		
	Mn	Mn	Mn	A—B df 40	B—C df 33	A—C df 46
16 P.F.						
Factor A	8.81	10.14	9.74			
B	5.41	5.64	4.63			
C	14.11	14.43	15.68			
E	14.41	12.71	12.79			
F	17.07	15.21	15.63			
G	9.59	10.29	12.58		2.66**	4.07**
H	11.74	10.92	11.79			
I	10.11	9.64	10.84			
L	12.00	11.79	10.42			
M	12.89	12.29	13.11			
N	9.41	9.57	11.05			2.12*
O	14.15	13.86	12.74			
Q1	11.11	8.93	9.42	2.52*		2.14*
Q2	11.22	10.29	10.84			
Q3	9.33	9.64	10.79			
Q4	18.93	14.21	14.53	3.54**		3.25**
Second order						
Anxiety	7.49	6.51	6.01	2.21*		3.32**
M.M.P.I.						
M/F	70.07	68.29	62.90			2.51*
Pd	82.50	82.21	79.75			
C.A.T.S.	6.22	5.71	4.8			2.31*

** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

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TABLE 4

Showing the difference between groups of tattooed Borstal girls on independent rating scales

	Group A Heavily tattooed N: 27	Group B Mildly tattooed N: 14	Group C Clear N: 20	t tests		
				A—B	B—C	A—C
	Mn	Mn	Mn	df 40	df 33	df 46
B.R.S.						
1.	3.77	4.22	3.92			
2.	3.85	4.33	3.92			
3.	2.92	2.89	3.08			2.15*
4.	2.69	2.44	2.42			
5.	3.08	2.67	3.00			
6.	3.92	3.44	3.17			
7.	3.54	3.56	3.58			
8.	2.77	2.89	3.00			
9.	3.31	3.00	3.42		2.06*	2.22*
10.	2.77	3.00	3.08			2.25*
11.	2.54	2.33	3.08			
12.	4.00	3.56	4.00			
13.	3.85	3.78	3.83			

* $p < .05$

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CURRENT SURVEY

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

THE XYY SYNDROME IN A MENTAL HOSPITAL

Genetically determined criminality

JOHANNES NIELSEN *

THE present study is a psychiatric investigation of three patients with the XYY syndrome found among the 1,180 male patients admitted to a mental hospital during a nineteen-month period.

Psychiatric aspects and criminal behaviour reported in previous studies of patients with the XYY syndrome

A patient with the XYY syndrome reported by Hayward & Bower (1960) and later by Dent *et al.* (1963) was only developed according to a six-months level at the age of four. Sandberg *et al.* (1961) and Hauschka *et al.* (1962) described a forty-four-year-old strongly built man with forty-seven chromosomes and sex chromosomes XYY. He is described as being of average intelligence and having difficulties in keeping employers satisfied with his work performance. Fraccaro *et al.* (1962) described two mentally subnormal children with forty-seven chromosomes and sex chromosomes XYY, and Sandberg *et al.* (1963) studied a twelve-year-old boy with sex chromosomes XYY; he was described as being of average intelligence. Hustinx & van Olphen (1964) described a boy with Marfan's syndrome, average intelligence and sex chromosomes XYY. Court Brown *et al.* (1964) found a twenty-three-year-old patient with the XYY syndrome. He was described as being of low intelligence. Ricci & Malacarne (1964) studied a fifteen-year-old boy with the XYY syndrome and an I.Q. of 59. Jacobs *et al.* (1965) found seven patients with the XYY syndrome among 197 patients in Carstairs state hospital in Scotland; the study was later extended by Price *et al.* (1966) to comprise 340 criminal mentally retarded patients, nine of whom had the XYY syndrome. All nine were criminals, and they had often been aggressive and violent, six of the nine were from 180 to 188 centimetres tall, and three were 171, 177, and 175 centimetres tall. All nine patients were built with male proportions, and they had normal external genitalia; all patients came under observation through a combination of criminal behaviour and diminished responsibility due to mental subnormality or mental illness. Price *et al.* (1967) found a significant difference between the mean age of thirteen for first criminality in the nine patients with the XYY syndrome and the mean age of eighteen in a control group with normal chromosomes. There was less criminality among siblings of patients

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with the XYY syndrome than among siblings of patients in the control group, and the criminality of patients with the XYY syndrome was directed against persons in only 9 per cent. compared with criminality against persons in 22 per cent. in the control group.

Balodimus *et al.* (1966) studied a sixty-four-year-old patient with the XYY syndrome; he was not described from a psychological or psychiatric point of view. Kosenow and Pfeiffer (1966) studied a fourteen-year-old boy with the XYY syndrome; he was described as being of average intelligence. Richards and Stewart (1966) found a forty-seven-year-old patient with the XYY syndrome; he had shown homosexual tendencies at school age and he had made aggressive attacks since puberty in connection with homosexual interests; he was described as being a psychopath. Wilton and Lever (1966) briefly reported a thirty-nine year-old patient with the XYY syndrome, he had an I.Q. between 80 and 85. Casey *et al.* (1966) made a chromosome prevalence study of several groups of male patients above 182 centimetres tall. Among fifty mentally subnormal males detained because of anti-social behaviour, twelve were found to have sex chromosomes XYY; of fifty mentally ill patients with normal intelligence, but detained because of anti-social behaviour, four were found to have sex chromosomes XYY. Of twenty-four criminals two had sex chromosomes XYY. No patients with sex chromosomes XYY were found among thirty mentally ill and thirty normal men above 182 centimetres tall. The authors mention that the frequency of XYY males in the mentally ill population detained because of anti-social acts and in a prison population indicates that an extra Y chromosome has a part to play in anti-social behaviour even in the absence of mental subnormality.

These findings leave no doubt of a correlation between the double Y chromosome, criminality and anti-social behaviour increasing in frequency with decreasing intelligence.

Material and Method

During a nineteen-month period we have been looking for patients with the XYY syndrome among the 1,180 patients admitted to a state hospital and a forensic psychiatric ward. We have used the stature as a guiding principle, making chromosome analysis on patients above 180 centimetres tall. We have, however, only been able to make chromosome analysis on twenty-three of the expected approximately 140 patients above 180 centimetres tall among the 1,180 patients.

The chromosome analyses were made on leucocyte cultures according to the method described by Moorhead *et al.* (1960) slightly modified; twenty-five metaphases were counted and at least fifteen metaphases with the modal figure and all metaphases with a chromosome number deviating from the modal figure were analysed.

Results

Of the 1,180 patients admitted, a total of 1,509 times, chromosome analysis was made on twenty-three patients, three of whom were found to have forty-seven

chromosomes and sex chromosomes XYY, giving a frequency of 13 per cent. of the twenty-three patients examined and a frequency of 0.25 per cent. of the total number of 1,180 patients. This is of course a minimum figure as only twenty-three patients above 180 centimetres tall were examined. The frequency of 0.25 per cent. is, however, eight times the expected frequency which is most probably no more than 0.03 per cent.

Case histories

Case 1. A twenty-six-year-old single mechanic with forty-seven chromosomes and sex chromosomes XYY.

The father, who is a labourer, was twenty-six years old when the patient was born; at the age of fifty-two he is healthy and still working. He has previously had some alcohol abuse but not since the age of forty-four. The mother was twenty-four years old when the patient was born. She is healthy physically as well as mentally. The patient is number two of four siblings. One sister is married, has children and is healthy. The two younger sisters are both healthy; the youngest has, however, been operated on for an enlarged non-toxic thyroid gland. There is no mental illness or inheritable illness of any kind in the family.

The patient developed normally as a child. He had good relations with his parents and he grew up in a harmonious and good home. He left school after the compulsory seven years, and he did rather well at school. When he was a boy he played with boys and girls like any other boy at his age. He was, however, somewhat shy till the age of sixteen, mainly because of nocturnal enuresis, a disorder which bothered him quite a lot. It prevented him, for instance, from participating in camping as a boy-scout together with his friends. From the age of sixteen to twenty he was an apprentice in a shipyard where his father worked as a labourer and later as a controller. He himself would have preferred to become a baker, but his father insisted that he should become a mechanic.

Puberty seems to have occurred around the age of sixteen manifested by pimples and change of voice. He began masturbating at the age of twelve and he is still masturbating nearly every day. There is always sperm emission by masturbation.

He had his first sexual relations with a girl at fifteen, and he says that he has often had sexual relations with girls since that time, information which does not sound very convincing as at the same time he speaks about his great difficulties even in talking to girls. He has never had any homosexual desires.

From the age of twenty he started drinking, and it seems that he has been drinking mainly through desire for company, shyness, "inferiority feelings," and difficulties in getting into contact with girls. He never seems to have become a real addictive alcoholic. Since the age of twenty he has never kept a job for more than a few months except when he was working as a mate in ships going to North as well as South America. He has made a suicidal attempt twice, in Mexico and Curacao respectively at the ages of twenty-four and twenty-six. Both times he was sent home by the shipping company he worked

for, and both times he made the suicidal attempt by making a cut in his wrists. He was drunk the first time he made a suicidal attempt, but he claims to have been sober the second time. Before the last suicidal attempt he had made up his mind to leave this world because he felt useless, clumsy, and dull. The suicidal attempt took place while he was working in a boat where work was especially stressful and demanding as far as responsibility was concerned.

At the age of twenty-six he was admitted to a mental hospital and during his stay there sex-chromatin and chromosome investigation was made. He was admitted from the out-patient clinic for alcoholics in his home city, and he was eager to be relieved from the following symptoms which had been increasing in intensity during approximately four years: he was afraid of crossing the street and he had difficulty in deciding when to cross. He had the feeling that people were looking at him and laughing at him in the street and in restaurants. He also complained of feelings of insufficiency and inferiority, of not being good enough and not being able to get into contact with women. He was not able to sleep with a window open without feeling scared, nor to walk alone on a peaceful road at night without feeling that somebody was just behind him. He had a compulsive desire to look through coat pockets in restaurant wardrobes when he was drunk and to take any coins he found in the pockets. So far he had never been taken doing this, but he could not stop it even if he realised that it was criminal. He had also been afraid of a desire to join a burglar gang.

During the seven week stay in the Århus State Hospital he was treated with antabus and chlorprotixene, work therapy, and supportive psychotherapy. He felt gradually more stable of mood, the anxiety disappeared, and he had no fear any longer of walking in the street as before admission. He said that he actually felt much better not drinking and he gained 12.5 kilogrammes during the seven weeks. During admission he was very talkative with a great need of contact and support. He appeared somewhat immature and unrealistic, and he seemed to cover up for his insecurity and weak points and over-compensate by boasting, for instance, of his potency. His description of great sexual libido appeared, however, to be true. There were no psychotic symptoms, and apart from the anxiety no real neurotic symptoms.

Full Scale I.Q. 93, Verbal I.Q. 99, and Performance I.Q. 86. There was a rather wide variability in functioning especially caused by a conscience loaded with primitive sexual conflicts and by an immature emotional unreflectiveness and lability. The adaptation of the personality was poor, the defence mechanisms being weak and ineffective.

Physical examination shows a 182 centimetres tall man of normal masculine build. The right testis is in the lower normal range as far as size is concerned, measuring three centimetres from pole to pole. The left testis is of normal size measuring four centimetres from pole to pole. Secondary sex characteristics are masculine. Electroencephalogram is normal. Urinary excretion of follicle stimulating hormone is 60 m.u. per twenty-four hours which is within normal limits: 17-ketosteroid excretion as well as androgenic excretion is within the normal range.

Cytogenetic examination. Feulgen stained buccal smear is chromatin-negative, and chromosome analysis on leucocyte cultures shows a modal figure of forty-seven chromosomes and sex chromosomes XYY.

Summary. A twenty-six-year-old somewhat immature man who has had alcohol abuse since the age of twenty because of feelings of insecurity and difficulties of getting into contact with others. He developed anxiety symptoms, a desire to empty coat pockets when intoxicated, and fear of a desire to join a burglar gang from around the age of twenty-six.

He appears to have a rather strong sexual libido and a weak potency, and his alcohol abuse, pocket-picking, anxiety symptoms, and fear of a desire to join a burglar gang might to some extent have developed against a background of his somewhat immature and sensitive personality, and the discrepancy between sexual libido and potency.

Case 2. A twenty-six-year-old married unskilled labourer and invalid pensioner with forty-seven chromosomes and sex chromosomes XYY.

The father, who was a carpenter, was twenty-seven and the mother twenty-two years old when the patient was born. The parents have been healthy physically as well as mentally. The patient is number two of eight siblings, with four sisters and three brothers aged thirteen to twenty-seven, all of whom are healthy. A parental grand-aunt and a parental aunt have had epileptic attacks. Two of his father's cousins have been admitted to a mental hospital. Three paternal cousins are mentally retarded, and one of them suffers from epilepsy. A paternal cousin of thirteen has diabetes mellitus. The paternal grand-mother developed diabetes mellitus at the age of eighty-two.

The patient grew up in a good and harmonious home, but relations with his father were always somewhat disharmonic; he felt himself that the father was somewhat against him. He was mainly tied to his mother who always covered him and protected him against the father.

He developed normally as a child but he had great difficulties at school, especially in reading and writing as he was word-blind, and he still has difficulties in reading. He never reads if he is not forced to do so. He also had difficulties in arithmetic and in other subjects, and he was not very interested or eager at school. He further felt clumsy, and he was not good at gymnastics or any sport. He was teased by the other children, and he had difficulties in asserting himself among the other boys. He had inferiority feelings, and he easily gave up to any bad luck. He always avoided fighting and left if any trouble was coming up.

His mother has described him as a sensitive, good, helpful, and willing boy who had to be treated with love. He was always behind his siblings as far as intelligence and maturity are concerned.

He had a mild concussion at the age of nine. From the age of ten he easily got tired, and he often fell asleep rather suddenly in the daytime. At the age of twelve he was admitted to a neurological ward because of this tendency to fall asleep, a tendency which he was teased for at school being called "the sleeper." At the neurological ward it was found out that the sleeping attacks always came on after he had been teased or after any kind of trouble at school,

and there were no actual symptoms of epileptic attacks or narcolepsy. Neurological examination, electroencephalogram, and air encephalogram were all normal at that time. He was described as immature and below average intelligence with an I.Q. of 92.

He continued, however, to have attacks of suddenly falling asleep or losing consciousness without any signs or symptoms of actual epilepsy, and he was admitted to a hospital for epileptics at the age of thirteen where electroencephalogram and neurological examination again were found to be normal. The diagnoses of dull to border-line intelligence, nervousness and narcolepsy were made, and he was referred to a children's hospital for epileptics where he stayed for two years and completed his seven years' compulsory schooling. Two fits with sudden loss of consciousness, but without convulsions were observed during these two years. At the school in the epileptic institution he was interested, eager, and well behaved. His I.Q. was found to be 84. The patient himself says that the two years at the school for epileptics were a good time for him, he felt accepted and well treated.

At the age of fifteen he got a job as a farmhand, which he kept for eight months. He left this first job after a quarrel with the farmer and vagabondised for a couple of days before he was brought back to his parents. He got into a quarrel with his father and left a few hours later, but was brought back by the police. The next day he was admitted to the hospital for epileptics, where he stayed for seventeen months. At the age of seventeen he still appeared immature and dependent. He was periodically eager, willing, and nice, good-natured and diligent, but at times he was slow, negligent, unreliable, careless, and somewhat challenging. He was discharged at the age of seventeen as he had no symptoms or signs of epilepsy. Four neurological examinations with electroencephalography have been made since that age, and all of them have shown normal conditions. At the age of twenty he had a second mild concussion.

At the age of twenty-two he said that he had had six fits since the age of seventeen, but nearly all of them seem to have been in connection with alcohol intake. The fits were characterised by restlessness, screaming, and a tendency to aggressiveness, and the patient says that during one of his fits seven men were needed to keep him quiet. During his many admissions to epileptic and neurological hospitals no epileptic fits have been observed, but there have been a few attacks with sudden loss of consciousness which might have been atypical narcoleptic attacks.

From the age of eighteen to the age of twenty-four he had seven different jobs as a farmhand and as an unskilled labourer lasting from four days to nine months. He usually left his jobs after quarrels over minor disagreements. During his stay at the epileptic hospital he was tried in family-care, and he spent six months, three months, and two weeks respectively in three different homes, but he had trouble to adjust himself and settle down.

He feels that he always has had difficulties in getting along with other people; he easily gets dysphoric without any reason. He is sensitive and vulnerable. He admits that he most often left his jobs after a quarrel over a trifle which he took too seriously. He is always brooding and is never satisfied

with himself. He is bitter about life, and he has become more and more irritable. From the age of eighteen he started using alcohol to overcome the above-mentioned symptoms. He drinks with others as well as alone, and he cannot stop if he has had a couple of drinks or if he has any money at all. When he has had six to seven drinks he becomes somewhat restless, but he does not think that he ever gets aggressive. One of the reasons he gives for drinking is that he feels better accepted and better treated by other people when he is slightly intoxicated. He was accused of bike stealing at the age of twenty-three and arrested for drunken behaviour at the ages of twenty-three and twenty-four.

He started masturbating at the age of sixteen, and he has been masturbating quite often since that age, always with sperm emission and relaxation as a result. Until the age of twenty-two he was always shy with girls and not interested in them at all. He met his wife at the age of twenty-three, and he had his first sexual relations at that age. He was contaminated with gonorrhoea by his wife who had had several sexual relations before she met him, and probably also during their short marriage. He considers himself as having a strong sexual libido, but it does not bother him if he has no girl; masturbating is as good for him. He married because his girl-friend became pregnant when he had known her for a few months. He was not very satisfied with his wife who was not faithful and who did not take care of their child.

His wife left him eleven months after their marriage because of his increasing alcohol abuse. She says that she became pregnant very soon after her first sexual intercourse with the patient. She also says that the marriage took place because of her pregnancy. She thinks that the marriage was happy till the daughter was born. From that time the patient stopped working and started drinking, and their marital relations became worse and worse. She says that her husband always had a strong sexual libido and potency, wanting sexual relations every night, and he could be rather hard and brutal if she tried to avoid sexual intercourse with him. She describes him, however, as good-natured and nice when sober. He is easily led by friends as far as alcohol abuse is concerned. He has no interests except for playing cards.

At the age of twenty-four, two months after his wife left him, he threatened to commit suicide during alcohol intoxication, and he was admitted to a mental hospital where he stayed for two months. During this admission he was quiet, peaceful, and somewhat dysphoric. He behaved well and was never really depressed. The diagnosis at the mental hospital was affective reaction in alcohol intoxication, epileptic mental deviation, and symptomatic epilepsy in spite of a normal electroencephalogram and no epileptic symptoms.

From the mental hospital he was sent to a nursing home, and he says that he still felt rather depressed after his discharge from the mental hospital, mainly because his wife had left him, and because he had no chance to see his daughter. He was also worried over economic and social conditions. During this period he met a fourteen-year-old girl with whom he fell in love. They soon agreed to have sexual relations, and did so several times. They were, however, found together during sexual intercourse, and the patient was reported to the police for having sexual intercourse with a girl below the age

of fifteen. He knew that his girl-friend was only fourteen, and he also knew that he could get a prison sentence for having sexual relations with her, but they both agreed they were in love, and he stressed that he took care that she did not become pregnant, and that it was his intention to marry her when she passed the age of fifteen.

A forensic psychiatric report was wanted by the court, and the patient was admitted to a mental hospital for this examination.

During the first part of his four months' hospital stay he was somewhat dysphoric, and during the first interviews he often reacted with transient refusals to eat and desired seclusion. He was very immature and childish in his behaviour. During the last part of his stay he was, however, more open and free in his behaviour. He was occupied with simple hobby work in the ward, and he got along quite well with the other patients. He was usually friendly and spontaneous during interviews, but he easily got angry in a childish way and often reacted by crying in an unrealistic way. Like a child he was, however, easy to soothe and reassure.

He was always ready to project his guilt on the surroundings, and at one time he planned to break out of the hospital with two other patients. He never presented any psychotic or actual neurotic symptoms apart from the symptoms of psycho-infantilism.

Psychological testing showed a Full Scale I.Q. of 94, a Verbal I.Q. of 91, and a Performance I.Q. of 98. The intellectual function is influenced by primitive trends to a degree that causes a rather poor adaptation, the trends being concreteness and failing control of aggressive impulses and fantasies. The adaptation is only supported by weak and ineffective defence mechanisms.

The conclusion of the forensic psychiatric report was: The patient has not been found mentally ill, and it cannot be assumed that he was mentally ill at the time of the alleged act for which he is accused. He is not mentally retarded, but he is found to be in the border-line area of dull to normal intelligence.

He is character-deviating to a considerable degree, and immature to such an extent that he must be considered psycho-infantile, somewhat weak, vulnerable, easily feeling injured with a tendency to dysphoric dejection during which he has made suicidal threats, and due to which he has developed and preserved alcohol abuse during several years. During the period of the alleged act he was in antabus treatment, and he cannot be called an alcohol addict.

It cannot be excluded that he has an organic central-nervous-system disorder as he has had epilepsy-like fits in childhood (mainly of narcolepsy type). At psychological testing there are further mild signs of organic mental reduction. There is also a tendency to decreased alcohol tolerance with a tendency to restlessness and loss of memory during alcohol intoxication. The previous epilepsy-like fits seem, however, to be provoked by mental stress. By repeated electroencephalographic examinations in neurological departments nothing abnormal has ever been found. Because of this, and judged from the main clinical impression, it is considered that there is only a slight foundation for an organic disorder of clinical importance.

The patient seems to have a rather strong sexual libido, but there is no reason

to assume that there is any sexual abnormality. (The diagnosis of XYY syndrome had not been made at that time.)

The alleged act does not seem to have been made in a period during which the patient was most marked by his character-deviating personality traits. It mainly seems to be the psycho-infantile traits that have been the background for his otherwise normo-psychological and situational-determined acts. For reasons of principle he can hardly be considered susceptible to influence through penalty. His mental condition will no doubt also in the future give considerable social adaptation difficulties. He has a considerable need for support and supervision.

From a psychiatric and preventive point of view it is considered most appropriate to avoid an unsuspended sentence as he would most probably react badly to such a penalty, resulting in further difficulties in social adaptation in the future. If a suspended sentence is used it is advised that he is subjected to supervision by the Danish Supervision Society with conditions about residence according to the decision of this society together with a condition to subject himself to out-patient alcoholic treatment to the extent required by his condition.

In the local court the sentence was as follows: "The question of fixing the penalty of the accused is postponed and will cease to be valid after a trial time of three years, on the condition that no new offences are committed, and that the accused is subjected to supervision by the Danish Supervision Society and must observe the rules of this society including those of stay and work."

This sentence was referred by the prosecution to a higher court with a claim for a more severe penalty. A new sentence at this court was in agreement with that of the first one, but it added that the accused should be subjected to psychiatric out-patient treatment including treatment for alcoholism, and that in agreement with the Supervision Society and the physician-in-charge he could be admitted to a mental hospital or other suitable institution.

Two days after the patient was discharged from the mental hospital, after the four months of observation for the forensic psychiatric examination, he appeared at the hospital crying, giving up, and depressed. He was admitted, and as previously his behaviour was often that of a difficult spoiled child. He was discharged after five weeks and admitted for the third time eleven weeks later, having threatened to commit suicide. At the time of admission he did not want to give any information, and the following day he refused to eat and talk. He demanded to be discharged, in a childish way, in order to commit suicide. During his admission his behaviour was childish and immature, and he was never really depressed. He used, for instance, to burn himself with matches in order to impress the other patients. He was discharged after two months' stay in the hospital, and he is still being treated at the out-patient clinic for alcoholics. He often gets in a fight at restaurants, and he has been kept by the police overnight for drunken behaviour on several occasions.

Physical examination shows a 200 centimetre tall man of normal masculine build with testes of normal size and with normal secondary sex characteristics. Electroencephalogram is normal, and urinary excretion of follicle stimulating hormone is 21 m.u. per twenty-four hours which is within normal limits.

Cytogenetic examination. Feulgen stained buccal smear is chromatin-negative, and chromosome analysis on leucocyte cultures shows a modal figure of forty-seven chromosomes and sex chromosomes XYY.

Summary. A twenty-seven-year-old immature, sensitive, self-assertive, and somewhat aggressive man who managed poorly at school, always had inferiority feelings and was teased by the other boys but avoided fighting. He developed attacks of what might have been narcolepsy around the age of ten. He later had "attacks" which were more like hysterical fits than actual epileptic attacks. He was admitted to a forensic psychiatric ward because he had sexual relations with a fourteen-year-old girl.

He easily gets into a quarrel and a fight, and he has great difficulties in getting along with other people. He has had alcohol abuse since the age of eighteen mainly to overcome inferiority feelings, dissatisfaction with himself, and inability to get into contact with other people. He has been married, and he is said to be the father of a child, but no blood paternity tests have proved his paternity.

Case 3. A twenty-four-year-old shop-assistant with forty-seven chromosomes and sex chromosomes XYY.

The father, who is a gardener, was forty-three years old when the patient was born. He had suffered from hemicrania, but he has otherwise always been healthy. The mother was thirty-nine years old when the patient was born; she is healthy physically and mentally.

The patient is number nine of twelve siblings, two of whom are dizygotic twins; he has seven brothers and four sisters. All his siblings are healthy mentally as well as physically. A sister has a pair of dizygotic twins. The maternal grandmother developed diabetes mellitus in old age, but there is otherwise no physical or mental illness in the family.

The patient grew up in a very good and harmonious home, and he has always had good relations with his parents and siblings. He was quite different from his brothers and sisters already as a boy. He was often ill as a boy and he never played with other children. He was more quiet, stubborn, and more difficult to get into contact with than any of his siblings. He never became mature to the same extent as his siblings, and he was never interested in girls.

He had difficulties learning to talk, and at the age of four to five he received special teaching to help him. At school he was slow and much behind his brothers and sisters, and never had any friends. He left school at the age of fourteen after the seven years' compulsory schooling while all his siblings got a high-school education. After finishing school he got an apprenticeship in a curtain shop. He had no special difficulties except that it was always quite stressful for him to talk to the customers and get into contact with them to the extent necessary in order to sell curtains.

The patient finished his military service with no great difficulties, but he was admitted for fainting spells on three occasions during his eighteen months of military service.

He often drank quite heavily from the age of twenty, apparently mainly in order to get into contact with other people. However, he always became more

introvert and more depressed with greater contact difficulties during alcohol intoxication. He says that he always felt different from his siblings and from other boys of his age as far back as three to four years old. He always felt that he had great difficulties in getting into contact with other people especially with girls.

The patient's mother and one of his elder brothers say that they do not think the patient went through puberty, and he has never been able to get into contact with girls. The patient's brother says further that the patient was often masturbating using pictures of naked girls to stimulate him. It is the feeling of his brother that he had considerable guilt feelings because of his masturbation and the use of pictures of naked girls.

Criminality. The patient's exhibitionism started around the age of fifteen. At the age of twenty-three he opened the kitchen gas-cocks in the house where he was lodging together with four other people, all of whom were in danger because of the opening of the gas-cocks. At the ages of twenty-three and twenty-four he committed arson in the house where he was living on three occasions, either in his own room or in a room nearby.

The patient seems to have started his exhibitionism on account of his lack of contact with girls. He found out that exhibiting himself to girls gave him sexual satisfaction. During puberty he masturbated daily while by now he is only masturbating once or twice weekly.

The patient considers the opening of the kitchen gas-cocks and the arson as attempts at suicide. He never thought of doing anybody else any harm, although he realises that by opening the kitchen gas-cocks and by committing arson in houses where other people were living he did actually create a dangerous situation which might have been fatal for others.

He was quite intoxicated when opening the kitchen gas-cocks, but on one of the occasions of committing arson he was quite sober. On each of the three occasions when he committed arson he burned some of the pictures of naked girls. The motive is not quite clear to him. He does not think that he got any direct sexual satisfaction from committing arson or from watching the fire. He had no feelings of aggression when he was committing arson.

During his stay in the mental hospital the patient was always polite, conventional, and friendly, with contact difficulties but no overt aggressivity. He might become slightly depressed during longer interviews, but was never appealing or complaining. Psychological testing shows a Full Scale I.Q. of 100, a Verbal I.Q. of 103, and a Performance I.Q. of 95. Psychological testing further shows an immature, self-centred and concrete way of thinking with break-through of primitive impulses mainly of oral character. Also aggressive and sexual impulses together with feelings of sexual insufficiency are seen. Defence mechanisms are weak and ineffective mainly consisting of denial.

The conclusion of the forensic psychiatric examination is: The patient is not mentally ill, and it cannot be supposed that he was mentally ill at the time of the crimes. Nor is he mentally retarded.

The patient has a personality deviation. He is immature, insecure and he has remarkably great difficulties in getting into contact with others. All his

social activity as well as his sexual activity has been coloured by his contact difficulty to such an extent that his sexual activity has had the character of compensation acts partly by exhibitionism and partly by masturbation. The patient claims that the arson and the opening of the kitchen gas-cocks were actually suicidal attempts. It cannot be completely excluded that suicidal drives might have been part of the motive, but it is most likely that aggressive libidinal drives that could hardly be separated from sexual libidinal drives have been the main motive for the arson. The whole personality is weak and poorly structured, coloured by dependency and completely failing in insight; according to the available information one cannot suppose that the patient has changed during the last few years.

The patient's personality deviation is so deep-rooted that he must be considered not eligible for punishment. It is considered to be extremely difficult to evaluate the risk of similar crimes, but the patient's failing ability to explain the motives indicates that the acts are mainly libidinal and that there is some risks of acts of a similar kind as the present ones, which are exhibitionism and arson.

A sentence to be placed in a special institution for mentally deviating persons is recommended.

At court the patient was sentenced to stay in an institution for psychopaths as recommended in the forensic psychiatric report.

Physical examination shows a 192 centimetre tall slender man of masculine build. The testes are normal size and there are normal secondary sex characteristics. Electroencephalogram is normal, and urinary excretion of follicle stimulating hormone is 29 m.u. per twenty-four hours which is within normal limits, 17-ketosteroid excretion is normal, but androgenic excretion is 2.9 mg. per twenty-four hours with a normal range from 3.1 to 9.4 mg. per twenty-four hours.

Cytogenetic examination. Feulgen stained buccal smear is chromatin-negative, and chromosome analysis on leucocyte cultures shows a modal figure of forty-seven chromosomes and sex chromosomes XYY.

Summary. A twenty-six-year-old man who grew up in a good and harmonious home. He was always quite different from his siblings, and he had difficulties in getting into contact with others, especially girls. He never had any friends, and he started drinking in order to get into contact with others and because of his feelings of insecurity and inferiority. He began masturbating at the age of fifteen, and his exhibitionism started at the same age. From the age of twenty-two to the age of twenty-four he has committed arson twice, and once he opened the kitchen gas-cocks in the house where he was living. His criminality is most probably mainly due to sexual libidinal and aggressive drives and a discrepancy between sexual libidinal drives and failing ability to contact girls together with his doubt of having sufficient sexual potency to have sexual relations with girls.

Discussion

Inheritance and environment

One of the most important questions is if there is any correlation between the sex chromosome constitution XYY and the personality disorder with

criminality in the three patients. None of the three patients' siblings, parents or near relatives was mentally ill, asocial or with any criminal record, and all three patients grew up in good harmonious homes. There is thus nothing that indicates that the personality disorder and the criminality are inheritable or due to environmental factors in any of the three patients.

School record

The first patient had a school record which was average and most probably the same as for his siblings, while patients 2 and 3 were doing poorly at school and not nearly as well as their siblings. These two of the three patients were quite different from their siblings as shown among other things by a poorer school record.

Intelligence

Full Scale I.Q. was 93, Verbal I.Q. 99, and Performance I.Q. 86 in the first patient. The second patient had a Full Scale I.Q. of 94, a Verbal I.Q. of 91, and a Performance I.Q. of 98, and the third patient had a Full Scale I.Q. of 100, a Verbal I.Q. of 103, and a Performance I.Q. of 95. All three patients thus had an I.Q. comparatively low in the normal range, but none of them was mentally retarded.

Personality

There were similarities more than differences in the three patients' personality disorder with aggressivity, lack of control of impulses, contact difficulties, a certain immaturity, character weakness, lack of ability for normal sexual and emotional relations with women together with a normal or increased sexual libido leading to kleptomania in the first patient, aggressive behaviour and sexual relations with a fourteen-year-old girl in the second patient, and exhibitionism and arson in the third.

All three patients had feelings of inferiority and insecurity, and they had difficulties in getting into contact with other people, especially with girls. Working stability was poor in all three patients. Defence mechanisms were found to be weak and mainly comprising repressive defence mechanisms and denial.

Aggressivity

One of our patients with the XYY syndrome was quite openly aggressive as indicated by numerous fights and from the results of psychological testing. The first and second patients were not openly aggressive, but they both showed aggressive personality traits in the psychological testing; the pocket-picking of the first patient and the arson and opening of the kitchen gas-cocks of the third most probably reveal hidden repressed aggressivity. Further studies are needed concerning aggressivity in patients with the XYY syndrome as suggested by the findings by Jacobs *et al.* (1965) and Price *et al.* (1966). If aggressivity is characteristic of such patients, the question remains to determine if it is a primary or secondary symptom. It has been suggested by Hunter (1966) that the reason for a high frequency of patients with the XYY syndrome in hospitals

for aggressive and violent patients is that the court and psychiatrists would be biased to send them to such hospitals on account of their frightening great height and build. Forssman and Hambert (1966) have suggested that the aggressivity might be due to cerebro-pathological conditions. We would rather tend to connect the possible aggressivity with a direct genetic disposition to aggressivity on account of the double Y chromosome complement and to a certain extent with a discrepancy between sexual libido and potency.

Alcoholism

The first patient had alcohol abuse from the age of twenty, the second from the age of eighteen and the third from the age of twenty.

Suicidal attempts

Suicidal attempts were made by the first patient at the age of twenty-four and again at twenty-six, by the second patient at the ages of twenty-four and twenty-six, and by the third at the ages of twenty-three and twenty-four.

The alcohol abuse as well as the suicidal attempts were most probably due to a great extent to feelings of inferiority and insecurity with difficulties in getting into contact with others and to reactive depressive periods.

Sexual libido and potency

All three patients seem to have a fairly strong sexual libido, but two of them (the first and third) apparently had a rather weak potency. The potency of the second patient is difficult to evaluate.

The discrepancy between sexual libido and potency might be one of the main reasons for the conflicts described in the case histories of the first and third patients, and it might be this discrepancy which is one of the causes of the unrestrained desire of the first patient to steal money in coat pockets and of the third to exhibit himself and commit arson. Sexual problems have not been described in any of the previously reported cases of XYY syndrome and comparison is thus not possible.

It seems worth while to look for more cases of XYY syndrome in psychiatric patients with such discrepancy between sexual libido and potency and with conflicts such as the above-mentioned patients and especially among patients who are above 180 cm. tall and have a criminal record. It is too early to draw any conclusions, but it might be that the double Y tends to be connected with an increased or normal sexual libido but a decreased potency.

Criminality

The first patient committed his first criminal act at the age of twenty, the second patient at the age of eighteen, and the third patient at the age of fifteen. The first patient was afraid of his desire to join a burglar-gang, and he could not resist the temptation of emptying coat pockets in wardrobes when he was drunk.¹ The second patient had a suspended sentence for sexual relations

¹ He subsequently made five breaks into shops, stealing money, brandy and cigarettes. All instances of shop-breaking were made during alcohol intoxication. He was given a two-year suspended sentence with condition of treatment for alcoholism.

with a fourteen-year-old girl; he was quite aggressive and often got into a fight and ended up at a police station. The third patient had exposed himself and committed arson.

Jacobs *et al.* (1965) found seven patients with XYY among 197 mentally retarded dangerous violent criminal patients. Jacobs *et al.* mention that the high frequency of XYY patients found among mentally retarded patients with dangerous violent criminal propensities most probably is related to aggressive behaviour or to mental deficiency or to a combination of both factors. Casey *et al.* (1966) made a chromosome prevalence study of several groups of male patients above 182 centimetres tall. Of fifty mentally subnormal males detained because of anti-social behaviour twelve were found to have sex chromosomes XYY; of fifty mentally ill patients with a normal intelligence but detained because of anti-social behaviour, four were found to have sex chromosomes XYY. Of twenty-four criminals two had sex chromosomes XYY. No patients with the XYY syndrome were found among the thirty mentally ill and thirty normal men above 182 centimetres tall. The authors mention that the frequency of XYY males in the mentally ill population detained because of anti-social acts and in a prison population indicates that an extra Y chromosome has a part to play in anti-social behaviour even in the absence of mental subnormality.

Price *et al.* (1967) found a significant difference between the mean age of thirteen for first criminality in nine patients with the XYY syndrome and the mean age of eighteen in a control group with normal chromosomes. The age at the first criminal acts for the present three patients was twenty, eighteen and fifteen respectively. Price *et al.* found less criminality among siblings of patients with the XYY syndrome than among siblings of patients in the control group. None of the twenty-one siblings of our three patients had any record of criminality. Price *et al.* found that the criminality of patients with XYY syndrome was directed against persons in only 9 per cent. compared with 22 per cent. in the control group. The criminality of our three patients was not directed against persons. These findings indicate that there is a correlation between the double Y chromosome, criminality and anti-social behaviour increasing in frequency with decreasing intelligence.

Our three patients were not mentally retarded and their criminality was not of a violent or dangerous character.

It would be of interest to study the relation between aggression and discrepancy between sexual libido and potency in patients with XYY sex chromosomes and criminality as well as a possible correlation between electroencephalographic abnormalities and criminality in these patients.

Symptoms of epilepsy

The first patient had no epileptic symptoms. The second had epileptic fits in childhood, probably of narcolepsy type. The third had fainting spells up till the age of twenty-one, but no actual signs of epilepsy. Electroencephalogram was normal in all three patients. There is thus no indication that the aggressive personality deviation with criminality was due to any specific cerebral disorder.

Conclusion

The lack of evidence for inheritable or environmental causes of the personality deviation and criminality together with the similarity of the personality deviation with aggressivity, contact difficulties, feelings of inferiority and insecurity, a certain immaturity, character weakness, lack of ability for normal sexual and emotional relations with women together with a normal or increased sexual libido and the tendency to a low sexual potency, the alcohol abuse, poor working stability, and suicidal attempts in the three patients with the same rare sex chromosome abnormality of the XYY chromosome constitution make it most possible that their personality deviation and criminality were due to the sex chromosome constitution of XYY.

The finding of a correlation between the sex chromosome constitution XYY and personality deviation with criminality as also found to a certain extent in Klinefelter's syndrome by Court Brown (1962), Forsman and Hambert (1963), Wegmann and Smith (1963), Nielsen (1964), Kvale and Fishman (1965), Casey (1966), and Hunter (1966) brings up the problem of whether the law should contain special sections for the sentence of persons who are genetically disposed to criminality with no or at least very little possibility of cure or correction.

It seems unlikely that punishment of any kind would change the risk of new crimes in patients who are genetically disposed to criminality, as, for instance, patients with the sex chromosome constitution XYY or patients with Klinefelter's syndrome and the sex chromosome constitution XXY.

Summary

Three patients with the XYY syndrome have been found among 1,180 male patients admitted to a mental hospital during a nineteen-month period. All three of them had a record of criminality and they were all immature with feelings of insecurity and with contact difficulties especially in their relations with women. They had character traits of aggressiveness and discrepancy between sexual libido and potency with a comparatively strong sexual libido and a normal or low potency which to a certain extent seems to have been one of the reasons for the crimes of at least two of the three patients.

The problem of whether the law should contain a special section for the sentence of persons who are genetically disposed to criminality with no or at least very little possibility of correction is brought up, as it seems unlikely that punishment of any kind would change the risk of new crimes in patients who are genetically disposed to criminality, as, for instance, patients with the XYY syndrome or patients with Klinefelter's syndrome and the sex chromosome constitution XXY.

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KLINFELTER'S SYNDROME AND DELINQUENCY

H. HUNTER *

Introduction

FOLLOWING a buccal mucosal smear survey of all male patients in subnormal hospitals of the Sheffield Regional Hospital Board area, seventeen chromatin positive males were discovered. They were all given full physical and psychiatric examination. The results of these assessments are being incorporated in a series of reports.

In a previous paper (Hunter, 1967) the psychopathological assessment of the chromatin positive men showed them to be inadequate and rather aggressive psychopathic personalities. It could be supposed that the inadequate and aggressive tendencies beyond those expected in a general subnormal population might well account for the hospitalisation of these persons.

Smithells (1962) states that men with Klinefelter's syndrome may develop psychopathic or criminal tendencies, but no evidence of an increased frequency of Klinefelter cases was found in delinquents of normal intelligence by Wegmann and Smith (1963). However, Court Brown (1962) found fourteen (30 per cent.) of forty-six cases of Klinefelter's syndrome were admitted to hospital for anti-social activities, which included larceny, arson and sexual exposure. Forssman and Hambert (1963) found a 2 per cent. incidence in "hard to manage" criminal males. Nielson (1964) found four cases of delinquency and three of severe alcoholism in ten cases of Klinefelter's syndrome in a mental hospital survey in Sweden.

Analysis of Histories

Examination of the histories of this group of chromatin positive males showed that of the seventeen cases, seven (41.2 per cent.) had committed offences that had brought them before the courts (Table 1). In six (35.3 per cent.) the offences

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This work is part of an M.D. thesis, London University.

I should like to express my gratitude to the Research Committee of the Sheffield Regional Hospital Board, whose research grant enabled this survey to be carried out; also to the Medical Superintendents of Aston Hall Hospital, Glenfrith Hospital, Whittington Hall Hospital and Harmston Hall Hospital for giving permission to examine their patients.

TABLE I
Anti-social Acts in Histories of Chromatin Positive Group

	Initials	Genotype	Court appearance	Court order	Childhood anti-social activity	Adolescent and adult anti-social activity
	K, G. C, W.	XXY	-	-	-	-
	J, R. S, G.	"	+	+	Repeated larceny before 11 years Truancy	-
	F, B.A.	"	+	+	Severe behaviour problems. Arson at the age of 9 years Destructive behaviour	-
	K, R. H, P.	"	-	-	Indecent behaviour	-
	S, A.	"	+	+	-	-
	S, E.	"	+	+	Extremely destructive	-
	E, R.	"	+	+	Truancy	-
	C, M.	"	+	+	Truancy	-
	E, S.	"	+	+	Beyond control at 8	-
	J, J.*	XXYY	-	-	-	-
	S, A.*	XXXX	-	-	-	-
	R, K.T.*	XXXX	-	-	-	-
	S, J.	XXXX	+	+	-	-
Totals	17		7	6	9	12 patients

D = Excessive Drinking L = Larceny Ag = Aggression S = Sexual

were of such severity as to cause hospital orders to be made. The offences included two cases of sexual offences against little boys, one of unspecified aggressive sexual behaviour, and others of threatening behaviour, aggressive acts, thefts and drunkenness.

Of the remaining ten cases (59.8 per cent.), five patients (29.4 per cent.) had no histories of anti-social activities. The other five cases showed anti-social activity such as chasing women, acts of indecency, smashing of property and aggressive behaviour. Other behaviour difficulties seen were excessive drinking and poor work record not associated with poor intellect.

Nine (53 per cent.) of the patients showed signs of behavioural difficulty in childhood. In this connection Court Brown *et al.* described four cases of young people who were admitted to approved schools following acts of theft, burglary, assault and wounding. Mosier (1960) suggested that chromatin testing should be done on all boys with mental subnormality and personality or social disturbances.

Summarising so far, twelve (70.6 per cent.) in this series of seventeen cases showed marked anti-social behaviour activity. The types of anti-social activity expressed were larceny, aggressive acts, sexual deviance or aggressive behaviour. Two cases in this group expressed mainly psychopathic (Mental Health Act 1959) inadequate behaviour illustrated by excessive alcoholism and inability to keep employment.

Comparison with Control Group

In order to compare these findings with a comparable subnormal group the histories of the total male population of Balderton Hospital, numbering 177, were examined. The results showed thirty-five (19.5 per cent.) were admitted for anti-social activities (Table 2). Of these, eighteen (51.4 per cent.) were sexual behaviour problems, six (17.4 per cent.) were cases of aggressive disorder and ten (28.3 per cent.) were cases of larceny. One of this latter group was a child of school age; one adolescent was admitted for both larceny and sexual offences.

Owing to the brevity of the clinical notes on many subnormal patients and since they have been derived from varied sources an element of caution must be expressed in giving too much credence to the exact numbers and description of the offences. Taking the figures as they stand they do suggest that behaviour

TABLE 2

Group	Total	Number showing behaviour abnormalities	%
Balderton males	177	35	19.5
Chromatin positive males	17	11	64.7

CURRENT SURVEY

Type of Offences

Group	Total offenders	Sex	Aggressive	Larceny
Balderton males	35	19	6	11
Chromatin positive males	11	4	5	6

disorders occur more frequently in chromatin positive males with subnormal intellect than in a comparable control group.

Comparison between XXYY and XXY Cases

Casey *et al.* (1960) discovered a high incidence of XXYY cases in special hospitals, Jacobs *et al.* (1965) have found a high incidence of XYY cases in a special hospital in Scotland. From this it has been argued that the presence of an extra Y chromosome may be associated with a specific psychiatric disorder.

Of the seventeen cases described here three (18 per cent.) were XXYY. Comparison of their anti-social histories with the XXY cases is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

		Drink	Larceny	Aggressive	Sexual
13 1	XXY } XXXY }	2	5	5	3
3	XXYY		1		1

Bearing in mind the limitations of these histories, it would not seem that XXYY cases were more aggressive than the chromatin positive cases with a single Y chromosome.

However, examination of Table 1 shows that two of the three cases were showing signs of behaviour difficulties in their childhood years compared with seven of the fourteen other men.

With these few cases it is difficult to arrive at firm conclusions. All that can be said here is that with the evidence available the XXYY cases may show a tendency for behaviour problems to occur more frequently in childhood. However, the evidence does not support a hypothesis that an extra Y chromosome endows a specific psychiatric disorder especially of an aggressive nature.

Conclusions

The types of offences committed by the Klinefelter group may be roughly divided into fairly equal numbers of sexual, larceny and aggressive acts. Compared with a large control hospital group the incidence of aggressive acts is greatly increased. This tends to agree with the evidence of increased incidence

in Special Hospitals, the observations of Forssman, and the "psychopathic" type of distribution of their I.Q. sub-tests.

The objects of the aggression were mainly things and property; there were also sex offences against children. This could be interpreted as a more covert type of aggression directed against the weak, or showing displacement to property, and contrasts with a more masculine type of aggressiveness which is more usually directed against the person.

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NOTES

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL STATISTICS *

G. N. G. ROSE

The "Perks Committee" has spent some four years on the unenviable task of considering what changes are necessary in the content of the English criminal statistics. Its report clearly illustrates that the statistical problems involved in describing the phenomenon of crime and the processes of law enforcement

* Cmnd. 3448 (1967). 63 pp., 5s. 9d.

are extremely difficult, but the committee has explored every avenue for solutions. Although a short report, it is extremely wide in scope, and deals with all aspects of the statistics, including the collection, processing and presentation of information on offences, criminal proceedings and the penal system. Attention has not been confined entirely to the production of statistics for publication; the committee has also considered the statistical requirements of the police and the possibility of making data available for research. In many instances the committee recommends radical changes in the present system, and its report is bound to have a very great impact on the shape of criminal statistics in the future.

One of the areas in which major changes are recommended is in the classification of offences. The system used at present in *Criminal Statistics*, involving some 160 classes of offence, has been reduced to forty-one classes arranged in ten main groups and this new classification, details of which are set out in Appendix B of the report, is a considerable improvement. It is much simpler than the present system, and the scheme for allocating the classes into main groups has been rationalised; in particular, more satisfactory provisions are made for allocating the different kinds of offences against the person to the main grouping. However, some of the distinctions which are made in the present system have not been preserved; for example, the thirteen categories of larceny which are listed in the current *Criminal Statistics* have been reduced to just three classes, "theft of motor vehicles," "theft (excluding motor vehicles) of over £5 in value" and "theft up to £5 in value." Twenty-eight of the forty-one classes of offence have been selected as comprising a new "standard list" of the more serious crime, and the distinction between standard list offences and non-standard list offences replaces the current dichotomy between indictable and non-indictable. The new distinction is at least as important as the old, for the amount of information to be collected is markedly more for standard list offences; statistics are to be compiled on the numbers of crimes recorded, on the circumstances in which these occurred, on court proceedings and on the social background of all offenders, whether prosecuted or dealt with by alternatives. This information is much more detailed than that collected at present and would provide extremely valuable additions to the current scope of criminal statistics. For offences not on the standard list, in general only information on court proceedings is to be collected, and the statistics available will be rather similar in scope to those at present produced for non-indictable offences.

Those familiar with the annual volumes of *Supplementary Statistics* will know that in recent years the Home Office has been developing a standard list of offences by grouping certain of the more serious non-indictable offences with the indictable offences. With one notable exception,¹ this present standard list includes virtually *all* offences where genuine problems of detection arise, and where some offences are recorded but unsolved. By contrast, offences not on the standard list consist generally of "self-detecting" offences, where the identity of the offender automatically becomes clear at the time when the

¹ The offence "Malicious Damage up to £20 in value" is not on the standard list, although there are a large number of recorded but unsolved offences.

crime is recorded. One of the prime functions of criminal statistics is to keep a complete and accurate record of known crime, and it is, therefore, misleading if statistics of recorded crime are not compiled for all types of offence where genuine problems of detection exist; in addition, only if such statistics are produced can a full official record of the processes of law enforcement be made available. For offences which are self-detecting, however, statistics of court proceedings are generally adequate, provided that they are supplemented by figures on other methods of dealing with identified offenders. These considerations lead to the conclusion that, with the exception mentioned above, there are strong theoretical and practical reasons for continuing to produce statistics of recorded crimes for the whole of the present standard list.

It is therefore disappointing to find that, although the committee has suggested that information on crimes recorded should be published for standard list offences, it is also recommended that the standard list be considerably shortened by the exclusion of "theft up to £5 in value" and "taking a motor vehicle without consent." To make comparisons with the current statistics possible, the report suggests that the numbers of "thefts up to £5 in value" should be recorded for a transitory period, but this is an insufficient remedy for the problems of comparability and of making full details available on recorded crime. Not only the numbers of these thefts, but also the numbers of offences of "taking a motor vehicle without consent" and "malicious damage up to £20" should be recorded, and on a permanent basis, not a temporary one. In addition, in the case of "thefts up to £5 in value," sufficient information should be available to be able to classify these crimes in at least as much detail as the present *Criminal Statistics* allows.

The current publications contain statistics of many different kinds, each relating to different stages in the process of law enforcement, and the report makes three principal recommendations for changes in scope. First, the inclusion of figures on non-criminal proceedings should be discontinued and, secondly, tables showing the incidence of reconvictions following sentences of different kinds should be included; an outline of these tables is given in Appendix E. The third (and widest) recommendation on scope is that a comprehensive system should be introduced for linking statistics of different kinds; in particular statistics should be published showing the connection between recorded crimes and subsequent action by the police and the courts. This would enable the processes of law enforcement, including such features as the incidence of cautioning as an alternative to proceedings, to be much more accurately reflected in the statistics; the way in which this could be accomplished is illustrated in Table AA of Appendix C.

The widening of scope and improvement of detail in the criminal statistics would, of course, mean that more information would need to be collected by the Home Office. The report recommends that the police should remain the providers of the bulk of this information, but considerable changes are suggested in the methods which they are to use. In particular, a standard Crime Report form would be introduced nationally for those offences on the standard list; these, together with forms relating to identified offenders, are generally to be coded and punched by each police force. The punched paper tape (which

the committee prefers, on balance, to punched-cards) would be returned to a central Home Office computer. It is extremely welcome news for criminologists that this method of data processing would provide a "reservoir of data available for research," and that, within this reservoir, a comprehensive linkage system would exist, not only linking crimes with proceedings, treatment and outcome, but also linking these details with information on the offender's previous and subsequent criminal career. Naturally, a great expansion in computer facilities would be necessary to cope with the extra volume of data processing.

The main routine function of the computerised system would be to analyse the material for the annual *Criminal Statistics*, but in addition the central computer would produce all statistics which are required by each police force—for example, for the annual reports of each Chief Constable. The report makes little mention of whether the system could cope sufficiently quickly with *ad hoc* statistical requirements from the force level, or with providing forces with facilities for data retrieval. These requirements are often urgent, they vary considerably from time to time, and are different for each force, but they are seldom sufficiently complex to justify the use of a large computer. However, the use of simple data processing facilities by each force, which could meet these requirements for "operational statistics" easily and quickly, is specifically discouraged by the committee, although its reasons are extremely weak:

"... there will be a strong tendency to diversification of input documents because of the different characteristics of the type of equipment used."

Surely there are alternative, less restricting, methods of ensuring standardisation. The use of data processing facilities by each force would be an invaluable complement to the receipt of regular detailed statistics from the central computer, and should have been strongly encouraged by the committee. In addition, if punched cards were adopted rather than paper tape as the preferred processing medium, duplicate cards could easily be retained by each force for its own use, and a suitable range of mechanical data processing equipment would be available to forces at a fairly low cost. Unless some compromise along these lines is considered, much of the potential usefulness of this system for police purposes will be lost.

The possibility of constructing an official "index of crime" was considered by the committee, but it was concluded that no such index would be acceptable, because of the heterogeneous nature of crime and the controversy which would surround the introduction of a "weighting" system for offences. As an alternative, the report suggests the construction of a small number of different indicators relating to fairly homogeneous groups of offences; most of these indicators would simply be based on the numbers of recorded crimes, but some of them would require weighting systems to be devised within the group of offences—for example, for the group "robberies." Undoubtedly such indicators would be extremely useful, but they will not take the place of an index of crime, and the committee's decision to oppose the introduction of such an index is arguable. The heterogeneity of offences is, of itself, no objection to the construction of an index of crime; the particular example quoted in the report is " x thefts = y murders," but this equation is, in concept, no more ludicrous than " x TV sets = y pounds of meat." The second equation is easily

reconciled, within the Retail Price Index, in terms of the denominator common to each product, money. It remains for criminologists to see whether it is possible to reconcile equations like the first by devising a suitable common denominator in terms of ratings of seriousness or degrees of disapproval. Although it is agreed that no generally accepted methods are at present available, the study of indexes of crime is still at a very early stage. It would be most unfortunate if the committee's conclusions were to lead to the search for solutions to these important problems being abandoned.

The committee recommends that the publication of the criminal statistics should be accomplished in six volumes. This is not as formidable a prospect for the reader as it seems, for it merely involves a re-arrangement of the scope of the material which is at present published in four separate volumes,² and in certain statistics appended to reports on the penal system. Of course, there would be a general expansion of the detail of the statistics, but the committee have also put forward recommendations to make it easier to comprehend and interpret this greater mass of information. The sixth, and last, annual volume would consist of a digest of the previous volumes, accompanied by informed professional comment; this would be a particularly useful and welcome addition to the present scope of the statistics.

The report has thus clearly identified the major problems of criminal statistics, and has established principles upon which solutions to these problems should be based. To make firm recommendations for action based upon these principles was the most important and most difficult part of the committee's work and in this area a great deal of progress has been made on many aspects of the statistics—for example, in the recommendations for a system of linkage of information, and in the suggestion that a reservoir of data for research be made available. Yet there is also created a feeling that certain of the problems have not been fully explored—for example, in the recommendations on certain aspects of classification and of data processing. However, the report contains a great deal of extremely valuable material, and could provide the basis for many improvements in criminal statistics.

THE GREEK CODE OF PRISON RULES 1967

MENELAUS BAKATSULAS *

THE new Greek penal code of 1950 has necessitated the drawing-up of new prison rules, and for that purpose a Committee was appointed in 1952 and 1957;

² *Criminal Statistics, Supplementary Statistics, Offences of Drunkenness, and Offences relating to Motor Vehicles.*

* Professor Bakatsulas, Associate Professor of Criminology and Penology in the University of Athens, recently spent three weeks in London studying the system of classification and training of prisoners. It is hoped to implement the new Greek prison rules shortly by providing better facilities for classification of prisoners. It is understood that the treatment of offenders under the penal code has no connection with the treatment of political offenders during the present emergency under the military law. It is hoped shortly to open a new Institute of Criminology in Athens. (Ed.)

the members of that Committee were as follows: G. Gardikas, University professor, M. Bakatsoulas, Associate-professor of criminology at the University of Athens, Ch. Triantafyllides and S. Venizelos, general directors of the Ministry of Justice, J. Zagarolas, University associate-professor, and G. Katapodis and I. Vergopoulos, directors of the Ministry of Justice. The Committee has prepared the new rules of "execution of penalties and security measures," which were promulgated in the Government Gazette No. 152 as a law No. 125/4 Sept. 1967, in code form.

From the point of view of legislative technique the rules regulate in code form all matters relative to the carrying out of penalties and security measures. In preparing this new code all relevant recent foreign legislation was taken into consideration and particularly the English Prison Rules of 1949.

The necessity of a law, whereby the various subjects concerning the execution of penalties are regulated, is very obvious, and does not need a long elaboration, especially when this comment is written for England, the cradle of the science and practice of penology. As soon as the sentence is about to be put into effect, then the problem of individualisation of the treatment of the offender arises, together with the problem of his rights, as well as the legal safeguards of such rights, whichever system of treatment of offenders may be followed. Contemporary penological legislation, aiming at the criminal's social re-adaptation as a final goal, subordinates necessarily to this end the execution of penalties.

The new Greek code of prison regulations (1967) adheres to the following basic principles:

(a) The adaptation of penal sanctions to the personality of the offender. This may be possible by classification-allocation of prisoners and whenever possible by treatment *ad personam* during incarceration. (b) The code follows the principle of legality, of equal treatment for all whenever possible, of leniency, of hygienic and constructive work. For reasons of space we may simply note that since the aim of punishment is the reformation of the offender, it should be carried out in a more lenient way. The prison personnel have a duty to exert their efforts for the reformation of offenders, within the limits prescribed by the law. They ought to avoid unnecessary repression, which even the most sturdy shoulders cannot sustain. •

Finally, it must be said that the new code of prison regulations in Greece is divided into five sections having 166 articles, classified in sixteen chapters.

The provisions of section (a) relate to the general principles of the execution of penalties, the principal rules of treatment of the offender, the classification-allocation, and the organisation of prisons. The provisions of section (b) relate to the rules of reception of criminals, the sanitary regulations, those referring to the religion, to the work of prisoners and their social relations, as well as the disciplinary regulations. Section (c) relates to the special rules of the execution of sentences of imprisonment and to the release of prisoners and release on licence (parole). In the same action are included the provisions of probationary supervision of prisoners. Section (d) gives the rules concerning the duties and the powers of the prison personnel. Section (e) provides for the

classification-allocation procedure and the execution of sentences of imprisonment in a progressive system; also the special treatment of each class of prisoner and the training and advanced courses of training to be given to prison personnel. In brief we conclude that the system of classification-allocation, if combined with the progressive carrying out of sentences, will facilitate the treatment of prisoners, making this treatment individualised, especially by further classifying the prisoners and allocating them to special régimes.

By this new Greek code of prison rules we are directing our efforts so that the régime of prison may be used for the training and the reformation of prisoners not only for their own benefit, but also for the sake of society.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

REVIEWS

TALLY'S CORNER, WASHINGTON D.C.: A STUDY OF NEGRO STREET CORNER MEN.

By ELLIOT LIEBOW. [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1967. xiii and 260 pp. 30s.]

THIS is a book about which few readers will remain neutral; either they will acclaim it as a minor masterpiece or they will reject it as an example of clever but largely unsupported sociological journalism. Both reactions would, in my view, be wrong, although the latter one is by far the most jejune. The study is the result of over a year's close and active association with a small group of comparatively poor and lowly regarded Negroes who lived in a Washington slum district. Tally Jackson and his associates spent a large part of their time in each other's company on a corner outside a New Deal Carry-Out shop. Here they passed the time by drinking coffee, gossiping, watching girls and generally, in terms of middle class norms, wasting their lives. Liebow has succeeded in penetrating behind this outward appearance of banal non-conformity to reveal the psycho-social dynamics which have produced this somewhat depressing state of affairs. These largely uneducated coloured men are firmly fixed at the bottom of the social pile and they know it. They are prisoners of their own low status and lack of skill in a world which despises loafers and denigrates non-achievers. Although, being men, and subject to cultural norms like other Americans, they want to marry, they cannot afford a dependent wife and children. When they are in work it is always at the most lowly paid and humble jobs such as janitors, parking lot attendants, dish-washers in restaurants, etc.—Jobs which carry a pungent smell of failure with them. When they do marry they expect to be failures and, worst of all, their wives also expect them to be failures. So, when children are born, economic troubles erupt, the marriage breaks up and the men return to the street-corner sub-world where "a shadow system of values constructed out of public fictions serves to accommodate

just such men . . . permitting them to be men once again provided they do not look too closely at one another's credentials"; that is to say, they can pass their failures off either as bad luck or as social inevitabilities so that "failures are rationalized into phantom successes and weaknesses magically transformed into strengths." Tally and his ilk explain away their marital disasters by the theory of "manly flaws" which postulates that the failure resulted not from their own inability to make enough money to keep their families but because the wives refused to accept this manly appetite for whiskey and other women, "appetites which rank high in the scale of shadow values on the street-corner." We are, hence, in a sub-cultural minor milieu which is a very long way from the traditional lower-working-class value system of long-settled low income families. These friends of Tally's come and go spasmodically. They inhabit a kind of social twilight region, only half-real themselves in a mildly psychotic atmosphere of failure, withdrawal and seething hostility towards their wives and the world in general. Little can be done to help them since their self-images are so debilitating, and Liebow has little to say on the social policy level that is not mildly platitudinous and purely emotional. Since they commit few crimes, other than violence amongst themselves, such men can hardly be regarded as social menaces. They work fairly often and keep themselves even though they abandon their children to public welfare. Only profound changes in the structure of American society could spell out the possibility of a new life for people like Tally and his associates and this is almost as unthinkable as the colonisation of Mars.

Liebow's sensitive and sympathetic study, carried out under very great difficulties by a white research worker (who was obviously never completely accepted by the Negro group for all their camaraderie), will immediately call to mind W. F. Whyte's classic of the forties, *Streetcorner Society*. As a sociological essay, as a report of participant observation, as a criminologically insightful text, it must be said that Liebow cannot sustain close comparison with Whyte. But to say this is not to condemn it in any way. It is like comparing a new play with *Hamlet*, for Whyte has set all who would penetrate modern societies by anthropological techniques an impossibly high standard. But Liebow has produced a work which will surely be read and discussed for a long time to come. In recording so faithfully the brute force of colour prejudice in American society he has struck a small blow for equality and, at the same time, produced a book which micro-sociologists will delight in.

John Mays

DELINQUENCY RESEARCH: AN APPRAISAL OF ANALYTIC METHODS. By T. HIRSCHI and H. C. SELVIN. [New York: The Free Press. 1967. 280 pp. 60s.]

THIS is a collection of inter-related essays that vary a good deal in level of sophistication and consequently in the demands made on the reader. In general the argument is not difficult to follow but the chapters in Part 3 on multivariate analysis including a discussion of significance testing and multiple regression analysis do presume a good background in statistics. The style throughout is clear and concise.

Hirschi and Selvin's text will prove exceptionally useful to those engaged in positivist criminology. They discuss in detail, and with good examples, the more fundamental errors made by numerous researchers (and especially the Gluecks) in imputing causal status to variables which are correlated with delinquency. Methodologically the authors are committed to a multi-causal model. For those using this approach, or attempting to analyse critically its main features, the book is essential.

The introductory chapters stress the central importance of careful analysis, and suggest that arguments over "hard" and "soft" data are of secondary importance. They lead naturally into the main section on causal analysis. Unlike most contemporary writers who shun the concept "cause," Hirschi and Selvin use it to describe an independent variable when three conditions are satisfied: (a) it is statistically associated with the dependent variable (delinquency); (b) it is causally prior to the dependent variable; (c) the association is not "spurious," *i.e.*, it does not disappear when another variable causally prior to the independent variable is introduced into the analysis. On this basis they examine in detail the associations produced (and labelled "causal") by various studies and criticise the Gluecks and Lander in particular (although for different reasons). Their re-analysis of these data shows clearly that many variables are not prior to delinquency, that many relationships are spurious, that tables are percentaged in the wrong way (for example in columns instead of rows) and that variables that purport to be causal are simply intervening between the "cause" and delinquency, *i.e.*, they help in interpretation, not explanation. Similarly they show that the link between variables, expressed in such terms as "A occurs and as a consequence B follows," are more often assumed than tested by cross-tabulations.

The multi-cause theme is especially prominent in the chapter on false criteria of causality. Causes need not be necessary or sufficient, nor even apply to a large proportion of delinquents, *i.e.*, any one variable is a cause among many others and the researcher must aim to combine these "causes" into some complex. This pragmatic approach to statistical association leads Hirschi and Selvin into questioning the practice of using concrete variables as indicators of abstract ones. For example they criticise Lander for using home ownership as an indicator of anomie and suggest that he is simply substituting a measurable variable for an abstract concept. Logically they seem prepared to give causal status to variables such as "not owning a home." This seems to miss the point. Objective indicators only provide the researcher with a model of the situations within which delinquency takes place. A missing variable is the interpretation or meaning attached to these situations by the delinquent. However, in relation to Lander's work some interesting issues are discussed, such as: are socio-economic factors prior to anomie? Can one include delinquency as a variable in factor analysis and see it *as part of* anomie rather than suggest that anomie is an *explanation* of delinquency?

The last section deals with statistical questions. Hirschi and Selvin prefer multiple regression to tabular analysis and cast much doubt on the use of the ubiquitous significance test—especially when no random samples are included in the research design. They include a very interesting and clear discussion on

predicting delinquency and expand Reiss's criticisms of the Gluecks' tables. This shows clearly that the Gluecks' work does predict the incidence of certain characteristics among delinquents but is a poor prediction of their incidence in the population as a whole. Finally there is a much needed warning against the danger of reporting analyses in such a way as to exaggerate the characteristics found in some delinquents into a stereotyped "picture" of them as a whole.

Without doubt this book should be read by all researchers and by any serious student—particularly the sections on causation and prediction. As an exercise in clearing analytical confusion it is excellent and yet one is left with severe doubts about the multi-causal positivist methodology on which the whole critique is based.

Roger Hood

THE COURT AND THE OFFENDER. By ERIC STOCKDALE. [London: Gollancz. 1967. 208 pp. 32s.]

THIS is a refreshing book by a practising lawyer with a keen interest in criminology. Its subject is a sharp critique of the English practice of sentencing and the treatment of offenders in the light of a detailed examination of the systems and methods employed in Holland, Denmark and Sweden, based upon the author's own personal experiences here and in visits made in recent years to those countries. As the blurb tells us, the book is written in straightforward language without recourse to statistics and charts, and is intended for the lawyer and informed layman.

At first sight it appears to be rather more polemical than scientific, but this would be a false assessment. While it is true that certain aspects of the English and foreign systems come in for strong criticism, and some rather wild and some rather optimistic statements are made, there is much here to inform and to enlighten. It is convenient to have an account in the English language of the continental systems described, and the book is amply punctuated by footnote references to sources of further information and scientific discussion. Cross-references are frequently made to the views of professional criminologists in England.

As Mr. Justice Scarman says in his Foreword¹, Mr. Stockdale is principally concerned to emphasise that, while society itself is under a duty to care for its offenders, the legal profession has a special responsibility in this matter. Yet at the same time those concerned in the practical day-to-day administration of justice are peculiarly isolated from the operation of the penal system. In other countries, their involvement is more direct. They have been concerned in the subsequent progress of the offender after sentence. Perhaps the English courts and the legal profession ought to be more involved at this later stage.

Legal education has been unduly narrow, says the author, and only a few rather tentative steps have been taken to include criminology in the law student's curriculum. Academic lawyers are criticised for fostering undue emphasis on purely legal studies, and for other vices such as making too much of the fact that our trial system is based on the adversary idea, when in fact

much of it, the sentencing stage at the very least, is conducted on a non-contentious basis. Criminologists such as Dr. Howard Jones are also criticised for making too much of the class bias of courts and lawyers.

In dealing with the English law, there is an excellent discussion of the difficult question how far a court may consider the amount of remission a man may receive in calculating his prison term. It is pointed out that contradictory views have been expressed in the courts. This will be a vital question now that we have a parole system. The suggestion is made that there should be a routine review of certain sentences, such as is carried out in the case of court-martial decisions. This is an attractive idea, especially in regard to prison sentences imposed by magistrates' courts, but these will be fewer now that we have suspended sentences. There is some criticism of the aloofness of the judges of the appeal courts and their lack of awareness of the realities of prison administration, *e.g.*, over the sentence of corrective training. "Detachment is a splendid virtue, but it is possible to stand so far back that one is out of touch." A number of other good points are made about sentencing. For example, there is little value in berating a prisoner at the time of sentencing him, and none at all in making promises of treatment which cannot be fulfilled. On deterrence too, Mr. Stockdale is good value. To his list of so-called instances of the deterrent effect of punishment, he might have added the cases of post-office fraud after World War II. The fact remains that the value of the deterrent sentence remains one of the great unproved myths of twentieth century criminal justice. On the question whether it is desirable to employ the indeterminate sentence as a measure of social protection, not everyone will agree with the author (see p. 47), who favours such a sentence in dealing with certain categories of offender, *e.g.*, persistent sex offenders. There is more to be said in favour of his argument that we need a second prison mental hospital like Grendon, possibly to cater for a different group of prisoners.

The Dutch and Danish systems come out of the author's scrutiny rather well, more favourably in fact than those of Sweden. There the maximum security institution at Kumla and the youth psychiatric prison at Roxtna come in for some criticism. But we do not hear much about the courts and judges of any of these countries, and it is about the attitudes and values of the legal profession that Mr. Stockdale is most concerned when it comes to this country. Some features of the Dutch system are criticised too, but the author was very favourably impressed with the work of the psychiatric prison at Herstedvester in Denmark, and endorses the policy of "voluntary castration."

Mr. Stockdale ends his book with some practical suggestions. Foremost among these is the need for some new centre or institute for the study of all aspects of the criminal process, to be set up in London. Here lawyers, psychiatrists, prison governors and the police would meet, and their first task would be to see how best the judiciary and the legal profession could be brought closer to the offender and the institutions which try to cope with him. Difficult questions encountered in practice would be thrashed out together, and only in some such environment as Mr. Stockdale proposes does he believe that these matters can be appropriately resolved. It will be interesting to see whether this idea attracts any support. It would not be right

for this reviewer to comment save perhaps to suggest that there are also strong and urgent regional needs outside London, and that more flexible and varied arrangements may in the end be necessary to ensure the kind of improvements Mr. Stockdale has in mind.

J. E. H. W.

BEING MENTALLY ILL: A SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY. By THOMAS J. SCHEFF. [London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson. 1966. 210 pp. 42s.]

MENTAL ILLNESS AND SOCIAL PROCESSES. Edited by THOMAS J. SCHEFF. [London: Harper and Row. 1967. 330 pp. 38s.]

BOTH of these volumes explore the "societal reaction" to mental illness. Scheff argues that sociology can explain much of what happens when the "mentally ill" are defined, selected and treated by others, and that these processes immediately shape the nature and extent of mental illness in any society.

In *Being Mentally Ill*, Scheff attempts to demystify the concept of "chronic mental illness." The development of mental disorder is too deeply embedded in a system of social relationships to be convincingly explained by psychiatric or psychological accounts alone. It is dependent on the responses which the ill person evokes and on the manner in which he handles them. This interaction between those who label and those who are labelled is a sociological phenomenon which should be examined within a sociological framework.

Being Mentally Ill suggests a "limited analytic model" of this process. The model is not put forward as an alternative but as a complement to the unsatisfactory conventional explanations, and Scheff is anxious to stress its shortcomings. He writes that it may not be sufficient or even valid—but he also argues that a model of this sort must be constructed.

The book demystifies protracted mental illness by redefining it as deviant behaviour. The process of development is lifted out of an unfamiliar sociological category and placed in a familiar one. As an instance of deviance, it comes under the aegis of a body of propositions which have considerable explanatory power. The reclassification is therefore likely to be fruitful.

Scheff states that mental disorder is a rule-breaking of a special sort. Most social rules are explicit and are covered by specific sanctions. There are, however, other rules whose infringement is "unimaginable," and the individual who breaks these "residual" rules may be identified as insane.

The social reaction to this residual rule-breaking is dissimilar to the reactions engendered by homosexuality or prostitution or crime. Nevertheless, it is amenable to an approach which uses concepts appropriate to all these types of deviance. Scheff argues, for example, that there is a societal mythology about insanity which contains a number of stereotypes of the mentally ill. This mythology offers a number of roles to the disordered person and it is the character of the available roles, not the "essential" nature of his illness, which determines how he will present himself to others and how others will view him. He will be rewarded if he acknowledges the legitimacy of one of these

culturally-approved sick-roles and punished if he does not. Different cultures thus engender different ranges of disorder.

Scheff is fairly orthodox in his use of the theoretical scheme propounded by Lemert and Becker, but he has extended the scope of the scheme and has also made some extremely valuable observations. *Being Mentally Ill* employs a conventional sociological model to illuminate an unconventional phenomenon and, in so doing, has refined the model itself.

Mental Illness and Social Processes is one of the excellent series of "Readers in Social Problems" produced by Harper and Row. It is not intended to be a comprehensive treatment of the sociology of mental illness—it is both substantively and formally parochial. The book is another broadside from the anti-positivistic sociologists and many of its contributors are interactionists. Most of the twenty articles are organised around the theme of the societal reaction to mental illness.

Although *Mental Illness and Social Processes* echoes much of the argument which was put forward in *Being Mentally Ill*, it also introduces an important addition to Scheff's model. Scheff was reticent about the origins of residual rule-breaking. He seemed content to leave the explanation of the initial deviance to the psychiatrist, psychologist or to other sociologists. The Reader, however, contains contributions which attempt to discard the concept of mental illness altogether. Szasz's "The Myth of Mental Illness" and Lemert's "Paranoia and the Dynamics of Exclusion," for example, both question whether there is an initial problem at all. Such an approach would suggest that the only "problem" which resides in social problems is the reacting audience.

P. E. Rock

CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR SYSTEMS: A TYPOLOGY. Edited by MARSHALL B. CLINARD and RICHARD QUINNEY. [New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc. 1967. 498 pp. \$7.95. Paperback.]

IN terms of organisation this book of readings is a model of its kind. There is a substantial introduction in which the editors discuss the typological approach to crime and present their own typology. Each chapter consists of readings on one of the criminal behaviour systems identified and is preceded by a discussion of the characteristics of the type and previous research, together with a bibliography. Each reading, in turn, is preceded by a brief comment by the editors. The criminology teacher can ask for little more.

As well as simply making material more accessible though, this book, unlike other readers, also tries to make a substantive contribution: an original typology of crime. Such an approach has much to offer, although Clinard and Quinney seem to me to place too much faith in typologies. They share with many sociologists what Alistair Macintyre has called the "taxonomic illusion": the belief in Linnaeus-type classification as a necessary step in theory construction. Their own typology is based on four characteristics: (1) the criminal career of the offender, (2) the extent to which the behaviour has group support, (3) correspondence between criminal behaviour and legitimate behaviour patterns and (4) societal reaction. Eight patterns of crime are delineated in

response to these characteristics: (1) violent personal crime, (2) occasional property crime, (3) occupational crime, (4) political crime, (5) public order crime, (6) conventional crime, (7) organised crime, (8) professional crime. Although this is only presented as a "pragmatically constructed system" (what else could it be?) it seems to be more arbitrary than the editors admit. The constructional criterion of "social reaction" is misapplied in several cases, either because lack of knowledge about the reaction leads to wrong guesses or because of a confusion between reaction as legal prescription and reaction as opinion or attitude. Some categories are not particularly homogeneous and others contain selections which do not appear to fit the type. For instance, why is conventional crime described as a career crime when most of the readings included in the category are on types of gang delinquency which are not career orientated? And why is McCaghy's study of child molesters (an excellent contribution, prepared especially for this volume) classified as a violent personal crime, when McCaghy's own data show that in 76 per cent. of cases there is no violence associated with child molesting? The editors' justification that "violence is generally thought to be associated with it and does sometimes occur" is not particularly convincing. Other types of sexual deviance, prostitution and homosexuality, appear under public order crime, which also includes drunkenness, gambling, narcotic addiction and traffic law violation.

The readings themselves are all worth looking at: most of them are well known (Wolfgang on victim precipitated criminal homicide, Lemert on cheque forgery, Thrasher and Short on gang delinquency, Maurer and Polsky on professional crime, etc.) and others deserve to be known, especially Bryan's "Apprenticeships in Prostitution."

Classificatory systems in the social sciences are almost by definition arbitrary and subjective and one cannot foresee a consensus among criminologists about this one. Nevertheless this reader is valuable if only for making useful material available in an organised way.

Stanley Cohen

A HISTORY OF POLICE IN ENGLAND AND WALES 900-1966. By T. A. CRITCHLEY. [London: Constable. 1967. xx + 347 pp. 50s.]

THE KOGA METHOD: POLICE WEAPONLESS CONTROL AND DEFENCE TECHNIQUES. By ROBERT K. KOGA and JOHN G. NELSON. [California: Glencoe Press. 1967. 152 pp. 40s.]

T. A. CRITCHLEY's book deals primarily with police history from 1750 to date, though the first twenty-eight pages put these developments in the context of policing during the previous eight and a half centuries. Information is drawn together from many hitherto untapped sources, in particular Home Office documents now in the Public Record Office, Parliamentary records, and "forty or so local police force histories." However, Critchley was not able to make direct use of the local records on which these last were based. In addition a selected bibliography is offered whose main use lies in what it tells of the author's thought processes, his relative evaluation of words presumably selected from

the total literature of the field. Accordingly the omissions—ranging from *all* the sociological writings on the police from the United States to George Howard's earlier history—are as indicative as are the works included.

And the works included tell us that here is a man who is concerned with "facts rather than ideas." No doubt Critchley would claim that his task as an historian is the (chronological) presentation of facts, which he does admirably; and to a point he would be right. Indeed, he goes further and shows us how particular developments result from particular cumulations of pressures. The repetition of situations is shown, the almost identical phraseology used by witnesses to Committees and Commissions spanning more than a century. The constant struggle by the Home Office for control comes through. But still each explanation seems too specific. One can think readily of two possible unifying themes which have been ignored; there are doubtless others.

Although Critchley is no marxist he provides more ammunition for a marxist interpretation of police history than any writer so far. We are shown how the national spread of police forces owes much to the need to suppress Chartism when "evil . . . worked its way to the fore" and the Chartists found that talking was getting them nowhere; how the formation of the Special Branch and, to a lesser extent, the C.I.D. were influenced by the Fenian troubles; how the Home Office resisted the recognition of the Police Union and how this move stood the Establishment in good stead at the time of the General Strike; how the emasculated Police Federation was encouraged to learn the communication and thought patterns of its masters; how the police were useful in the 1939-45 war as interpreters to authority of the state of public morale and the effects of adverse propaganda; how—surprise of surprises—it has always been Tories rather than Socialists who have most vehemently advocated "nationalisation." All these events are described accurately enough, but there is no indication that they may be in any way related to each other.

The second trend implied by the work concerns the movement from charisma to bureaucracy as a basis of organisation. Police history presents a classic case: Henry Fielding, dynamic, with tremendous personal power and appeal re-organising locally a corrupt system of justices and thief takers; John Fielding, "The Blind Beak," successor both to his brother's charisma and to his formal authority; Home Office intervention (precedent, first grant from Exchequer made to Henry Fielding) culminating in 1829, determining the "bureaucratic" direction of the development—although a continued rearguard struggle has been kept up by traditionalist elements in the system to the present day. Centralisation and increase of scale, increasing specialisation, rationalisation of training and promotion procedures, increasing importance of the office rather than the officer—especially at senior levels, standardisation of salary (some time after the abolition of fees), specified hierarchies of authority and accountability, rationalised discipline and complaints procedures . . . the list of characteristics is at least as long as Weber's original. And from the development of representative bodies at all levels one might almost extrapolate the existence of a bureaucratic system to which they are responding! Again the point is not made, though the importance of central control for purposes of efficiency is repeatedly re-emphasised.

But perhaps one is demanding too much from a simple history. As a ready reference for those requiring dates and statistics the book fills an undoubted gap and is of unquestionable accuracy, clearly set out under detailed sub-headings, and carefully indexed.

Critchley has given us a hymn to increased efficiency—harmless enough. Koga and Nelson take the logic one stage further. The book deserves a mention mainly because an expression of concern seems timely. Obliquely, too, it touches upon an important ethical question.

The theme of the work is "the controlled infliction of pain" as a police weapon, and it deals with both the principles and practice of a new method of control by pain, devised by one of the authors from a combination of judo, aikido, and other similar skills. The ethical problem is, when is a man justified in applying pain to achieve his objective? In some cases this *may* be necessary, and no doubt controlled pain infliction is preferable to the uncontrolled kind: but no, there is a doubt. We have too the question, nowhere touched upon by the authors, of the *amount* of pain. Controlled pain is cleaner, more efficient, perhaps less disturbing emotionally to the one inflicting it, but not necessarily less painful to the recipient—only less wasteful from the perspective of either participant. And whatever may be the needs for physical domination by the police on some occasions, it is difficult to accept that "controlled pain" is the most appropriate weapon for use against passive political demonstrators, simply, as the authors state, because it "looks better," is quicker, neater, less undignified, than carrying an inert body; because the infliction is rapid and the pain itself unseen with the result that bystanders will admire police skill rather than offer ridicule.

This brings us round full circle to the origins and latent purposes of the police force—and leaves some room for thought.

Maureen E. Cain

CRIMINAL JUSTICE. By ABRAHAM S. BLUMBERG. (Problems of American Society Series). [Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1967. 206 pp. \$5.75.]

BLUMBERG has written an exposé, designed to shock those who still hang on to the myth that the "accusatorial" system—due process—is the major characteristic of the American criminal trial. His main thesis is that in reality most cases are settled through a secretive and potentially dangerous system of negotiating guilty pleas. The evidence for this contention comes from twenty years' experience in the "Metropolitan Court" (a complex of inter-related courts) buttressed by more than 200 informal interviews with prosecutors, lawyers, judges and probation officers.

Blumberg notes that an extremely high proportion of felony cases plead guilty—an average 93 per cent. The main reason, he contends, is that accused persons shun jury trials and negotiate a guilty plea in return for more generous treatment than could be expected after trial. According to Blumberg, guilty pleas are openly settled between prosecutors, defence lawyers and the judges. Their only concern is to make the court organisation efficient and

highly productive. Organisational ends are more important than the defendants' rights: The court is described as a tight-knit and xenophobic community within which the individuals engaged in the legal process—prosecutor, judge and defence—have mutual obligations to each other in order to make the system work. The defendant is “betrayed” by his lawyer whose first duty is to serve the court and he may even be induced to plead guilty when innocent. Furthermore the probation and psychiatric services are strongly attacked for acting as mediators between the court and the defendant. It is claimed that their main function is to “cool” the defendant by helping him to come to terms with his plea, and that reports to the court are at best a set of clichés and stereotypes and at worst a collection of disparaging epithets. Their function is to make justice look reasonable.

All very strong stuff—the organisation has taken over—the defendant is entangled in a conspiracy to convict and sentence him with maximum speed. Yet Blumberg cannot show in what proportion of cases this does really work to the defendants' disadvantage. Interview material showed that 52 per cent. of a random sample of guilty pleaders afterwards expressed their innocence to probation officers, but this may have been to support their self-image as non-criminal. On the other hand 12 per cent. claimed to have been “conned.” How much these are rationalisations after the event we cannot tell, but it would be foolish not to recognise that it is not only the court that wants to get the case over with quickly!

In my opinion the main value of the book is the analysis of the organisational pressures on the personnel engaged in the court. The description and analysis is marred by a very polemic style—more journalism than sociology; but we certainly need more studies in this neglected area of the sociology of law enforcement.

Roger Hood

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN PRISONS AND PRISON CUSTOMS 1776-1845.
By ORLANDO F. LEWIS. [Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith. 1967.
350 pp. \$9.50.]

WITH the grisly evidence from the Arkansas State Prison Farm just coming to light, it is a relief, almost, to turn back to this study of earlier American prison customs and history. In any select list of prison classics, beginning with Howard's *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* and including Enoch Wines's book of the same title on the U.S., this book by Dr. Orlando Lewis deserves an honoured place. Lewis was the General Secretary of the American and the New York Prison Associations—a sort of E. R. Cass of an earlier generation—and died in 1922, just before his book was published. Now, with a preface by the present General Secretary of the Correctional (note the change!) Association of New York, Donald Goff, the book has been re-published and is thus generally available: only 500 copies of the original were printed.

Lewis was both a scholar and an able social administrator—he had been Secretary of New York's Charity Organisation Society—but unlike some of his

fellows he was able to exhibit his scholarship in an attractive and lucid style. The book is buttressed with ample references in footnotes but unfortunately lacks an index.

How many criminologists, if asked to list the world's eminent penal reformers, would think of including William Penn? Lewis rightly does him justice. "Penn's outstanding purpose," he writes, "in the treatment of criminals and offenders was clemency and, when possible, rehabilitation. He had been in prison. He had been a martyr. He had endured six months of the promiscuous horrors of Newgate in London . . . and when he came to America, he brought the purpose with him of substituting the prison for the gallows, labor for bloody punishments, and workshops for the idleness and debauchery of the jail yard." And of course it is not only in America that the Quakers, always liable themselves to imprisonment for conscience sake, have been active in penal reform, as the records of the Howard Association—now League—amply show. It is ironical that the earliest Quaker Meeting House in New York, built in 1694, has been in continuous use ever since except for the period 1776–1783, when "the British used it as a prison, a hospital and a stable!" (From the notice outside.)

Of course the chief interest of Lewis's book, within the period he chose to cover, lies in the account of the Auburn and Pennsylvania systems, but the administration of all the other States then in existence is vividly dealt with, and a massive indictment of the county jails is fearlessly mounted; an indictment, alas, not irrelevant at this day. Fascinating portraits emerge from these pages and not the least is that of Lewis himself: scholar, social administrator but also a realist of more than ordinary perception. Hear him on the spirit of modern (1922) prison. "No warden in any prison can conceal the 'spirit of the prison' from the trained observer. A warden can attempt to camouflage his institution by expatiating upon the high polish of the floors, the excellent cleanliness of the nooks and crannies, the fine light bread, the precision of administration—and those are necessary parts of a prison regime, but not the soul of it. The warden can seek by hale and hearty joviality, or by an assumption of learning, or confidential communications, or apparent solicitude for his 'boys' or for 'penology' and the like, to conceal other conditions of dubious nature. But he cannot camouflage the way the inmates react to him, look at him, get ready for him as he approaches—and these things are tell-tale barometers of an institution." Let all prison governors, directors and Inspector Generals read, mark, learn and inwardly digest!

Duncan Fairn

PROBLEMS OF HOMOSEXUALITY IN CORRECTIONS. By C. B. VEDDER and P. G. KING. [Springfield, Illinois. Charles Thomas. 1967. 63 pp. Price not stated.]

THIS short book consists of three essays. The two which deal with homosexuality in men's and women's prisons respectively usefully summarise the observations which have been made in the literature, and add sometimes

rather surprising comments such as: "The homosexual does not appear to live as long as the heterosexual." The general conclusion is that the only solution is the abolition of the prison conditions which foster such behaviour, but no indication is given as to how this might be done. One feels that an opportunity has been missed to discuss the best means of coping with (rather than abolishing) the problem for it is certain that some governors and staffs manage to avoid the major dangers, especially sexual exploitation of the weak, much more successfully than others. Prison officers referring to these chapters might be unduly discouraged.

The third section quite recovers the situation in dealing excellently with the whole question of conjugal visits and home furloughs. Here the pros and cons are succinctly set out and the scattered experience from different parts of the world, notably from Parchman Penitentiary, Mississippi (the only American protagonist) and from Mexico, where conjugal visits are widely permitted, is commented upon. The bibliography might have included Luzian Verborghen's *Imprisonment and Conjugal Life* which offers a world-wide summary of the relevant practices.

The preface and text mention that conferences on crime and correctional problems have avoided the topic in the past. But since the book was published, the Second Reunion of the International Penal and Prison Foundation, which took place in Paris in September 1967, dealt with it at length; the general consensus, especially from two excellent French contributions, was that sexual deprivation may be much less oppressive than observers from outside might suppose; and to introduce what could only be occasional conjugal visits might be cruel by being kind (to both partners). A further recent development has been the introduction in Sweden of a pilot scheme allowing ten long-term prisoners to spend a summer holiday with their wives and families in a special log cabin at a lakeside hamlet in North Sweden.

In general, European opinion is veering towards as extensive a use as possible of special leave of absence, rather than towards the development of conjugal visits in prisons.

P. D. S.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE. By DELMAR KARLEN in collaboration with GEOFFREY SAWER and EDWARD M. WISE. [Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1967. 233 pp. including Indices. 40s.]

THE comparative study of criminal law and procedure in countries of the common law tradition is of fairly recent origin. Prison people know more about what is going on across the Atlantic than do lawyers and judges, as this book points out. This study is therefore very welcome. It grew out of an exchange of visits between a team of American judges and lawyers and an English team headed by Lord Parker, the Lord Chief Justice, who contributes a Foreword to the book.

Comparative studies may be either descriptive or evaluative or a bit of both. This book is largely descriptive but certain sharp contrasts emerge. By setting down simply the bare bones of the systems of administration of justice

in criminal cases at all stages, it becomes clear that there are more contrasts and differences in style and substance than are often appreciated. From the powers of the police and their organisation, through the subject of prosecutors and their discretion, to the trial judges and sentencing and the penal institutions, time and time again we see the nature and extent of these differences. One great merit of this study is that it points them out so clearly and dispassionately, with so few attempts to draw conclusions either way. The reader is left to judge for himself. This style in comparative law studies has much to commend it, while it may strike some as rather uncommitted and insipid. At least the reader is not alienated by value judgments but his interest and sympathies are more likely to be aroused even by the shortcomings which are revealed.

Readers of this *Journal* are most likely to be interested in the chapters dealing with Penal Institutions and Sentencing. One is left in no doubt about the inadequacy of the system of local county jails in America, while due credit is at the same time given to those States (and the federal system) where progressive penology has led to the provision of more varied and advanced penal programmes. The English prison system escapes serious criticism in this comparison, and we may note with interest that "in England penal reform is easier than in the United States because of the fact that prisons are centrally administered" (p. 82). Our juvenile courts, lay justices and probation service also come out well in the comparison. We can only feel humble in the presence of this testimony and express the wish that sharper criticism had been brought to bear on our own institutions than seems to have been possible.

The pace of change in these matters in this country today is so rapid that it is hardly surprising that the book fails to note the implementation of the reforms proposed by the Donovan Committee with regard to the constitution of the Court of Criminal Appeal, and the changes brought about in the Criminal Justice Act 1967 with regard to suspended sentence and parole. On the latter point, the book does give a brief picture of the operation of the American parole system, which may be of some interest. Among other comments, it is said that "there is great diversity in the criteria which guide decisions regarding release on parole," and in 1960 Hawaii released 99 per cent. of its felony prisoners on parole, whereas Vermont released only 5 per cent. of such prisoners on parole (p. 95). What shall we write of the English parole system in a few years' time?

J. E. H. W.

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(Compiled by P. E. Rock)

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EDITORIAL

It is commonplace to speak of criminology as a multi-discipline study, but on closer reflection we have to admit that the major contributions have derived from a small number of disciplines. The reasons for this would seem to deserve more attention than they have received. Some are obvious, others much less so. Certainly no one is likely to challenge the basic assumption from which Dr. Tobias starts in his paper on "The Crime Industry" that crime has received no attention from the economic theorist. Changing conditions of affluence and poverty as well as the development of more precise methods of economic measurement alike make it certain that a study of the crime industry along the lines he suggests would be most fruitful.

Among existing studies of crime from the standpoint of economics, the relationship between economic conditions and criminal activity has been the outstanding exception to this general neglect to which he draws attention. The work of Bonger, the Dutch criminologist, in 1916, on criminality and economic conditions is but one example. In the field of penology studies of the relationship between punishment and economics, though very few in number, have also emphasised economic conditions. The study of Rusche and Kirchheimer has emphasised the close link between types of punishment and the state of the labour market and indeed the effect of the condition of the labour market on society's reaction to crime.

Among the objections to an economic approach to the crime industry which have been forcefully argued is the point of view that the choice of a criminal career is influenced by very different factors

from those which determine the choice of an occupation or a profession. The sociological study of criminal careers has changed the force of this argument from one standpoint. An economic analysis of the related problem of the crime industry would be complementary to this. But there are formidable difficulties facing the economist in the collection of data such as the absence of that kind of material required by an accountant in the audit of a firm. On a different level of analysis perhaps it is not unreasonable to hope that the revision of the English criminal statistics will provide evidence that is useful for the economist. Police records too form another important source of material.

There is also the field of white-collar crime which remains neglected by the economist. Here there is much less likelihood of a dearth of evidence such as confronts the researcher into the crime syndicate. The difficulty here is the opposite one of an abundance of data which have both to be sorted out and presented in a systematic form. In this area economic expertise will be not only useful but essential. As North American experience in particular has shown, the task of unravelling a case of white-collar crime (such as the Royal Commission to Investigate Trading in the Shares of Windfall Oils and Mines Limited in Toronto, September 1965) requires a whole army of accountants as well as of lawyers. But as yet we have hardly begun to study white-collar crime in the general context of economic activity.

Since the detection of an offender is essentially a problem in the use of information, it is surprising how few attempts there have been to study the application of information theory to this field. The *Journal* has so far published little on the subject of criminal investigation, but the approach and concepts adopted in Mr. Willmer's article in this issue should interest not only law-enforcement agencies but also sociologists who are concerned with the relationship between urbanisation and crime-rates.

THE SCOTTISH REFORMS

I—THE IMPACT ON THE PUBLIC *

THE HON. LORD KILBRANDON (*Edinburgh*) †

THE reforms are striking no less for their breadth than for their timing. As for the breadth, the first hint of change was the modest setting up of a Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Children and Young Persons, over which I had the intense pleasure of presiding. We produced a report containing proposals which, although in some respects novel and certainly productive of wide-spread comment and criticism, were, I hope, limited in all loyalty to the terms of reference which had been confided to us. After a period for reflection in high quarters which was to us flatteringly brief, but which to others no doubt seemed to be evidence of scandalous and irresponsible precipitation, an indication was given that the conclusions of the report were acceptable in principle to the Government. But worse was to follow. The logic which informed, as we thought, remedial measures in what had been until then regarded as largely penal matters, was seized upon, and applied in such a way—I had almost said in such a ruthless way—as to be effective in fields which we certainly had never considered ourselves at liberty to cultivate. We felt as if we had been playing with fire—that whereas we had lit a beacon to guide a single benighted traveller, behold the entire countryside had burst into flame behind us. It is, of course, difficult for us to watch the conflagration without some degree of complacency.

Of one thing I am certain, and that is that the proposals have been studied and debated with a wonderful openness of mind. There has been very little prejudiced *a priori* criticism, and what there has been has mostly proceeded on genuine and excusable error as to what the new systems were actually going to do. The many professional people and associations of professional people whose daily lives and clinical responsibilities are obviously in prospect of considerable change have faced the proposals with a disinterested integrity which does them infinite credit.

The most appropriate starting point for our examination will, I

* Extracts from an address given in Glasgow University on February 13th, 1968.

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think, be the original proposals of the Kilbrandon Committee, in so far as they have been accepted for presentation to Parliament, with particular reference to those dealing with what has up to now formed part of our summary criminal jurisdiction. In the broadest aspect, this means the revocation of the jurisdiction of the criminal courts, except in rare cases which I do not pause to consider, over young people between the ages of eight and sixteen, or seventeen after the year 1971, together with the setting up of what have been called juvenile panels in order to take over some at least of the work which the judicature has released. We will probably do well to look at this proposition from two angles, firstly the chain of reasoning by which it may be justified, and secondly the consequences, or supposed consequences, of its adoption.

The first of the conclusions at which our Committee arrived was expressed as follows: "In terms of the treatment measures to be applied, the children appearing before the Courts, whatever the precise circumstances in which they do so, show a basic similarity of underlying situation. The distinguishing factor is their common need for special measures of education and training, the normal upbringing processes for whatever reason having failed or fallen short." There are two important implications in this short statement. The first is that there is some common factor in all the children under discussion, whatever the reason for their having come into observation. These reasons are basically four. (a) Some are delinquent in the technical sense of having exhibited conduct which is forbidden by the ordinary criminal law. (b) Some are in need of care or protection in the statutory sense. (c) Some are refractory and beyond parental control. (d) Some are persistent truants. All, as things now stand, are amenable, in consequence of their situation, to the jurisdiction of the summary criminal courts, yet criminality, even the less responsible kind of criminality recognised by the common law as attaching to the young by reason of their youth, is not at all the factor which they have in common. Hence one may reasonably point to an *a priori* likelihood of the unsuitability, or even irrelevance, of a criminal court as the purveyor of the treatment appropriate to the individual case.

Secondly, the recognition of the "common need for special measures of education and training" forces one to recognise the problem as primarily one of arrested or deformed development. There has been a growth failure. Now children do not grow up in isolation—although they do grow up in families. Accordingly as it is to

the family that we look for the securing of normal happy childhood and adolescence, so also when in any given case there has been deprivation of what we would wish our own young people to enjoy, we shall in the first instance try to restore what is lacking by some process which will support, reinforce and reform the family in which the deprivation has become apparent. This is a case-work exercise which no one would allot to a court of summary criminal jurisdiction. If you did that, you would be selecting a social engine which was designed for totally different social purposes, and asking it to carry out functions which were almost *ex hypothesi* beyond its powers. In the mobilisation of family support and the restitution of family morale the criminal court has no part to play. It is true that to a limited extent it is now called upon to do so, through its own probation services, but this is no more than an admission that it has been necessary to attach a social welfare service to the administration of justice, and certainly does not involve us in the necessity of regarding the administration of justice as a social welfare service in its own right, which it could never be.

The Kilbrandon Committee proposed that the present powers and duties of local authorities under the Children's Acts and the Children and Young Persons Act should be transferred to local authorities, each of which was to set up a department under the Director of Education, headed by a Depute Director, with the title of "Director of Social Education," and that this department should embrace the functions at present discharged by many of the agencies having the statutory care of young people. That this proposal was not adopted by Government need not surprise us. Given the enormous widening of the field, so that the new Departments of Social Work are to have responsibilities far transcending those proposed for the Departments of Social Education, it would scarcely have been possible to organise. Moreover there can be no doubt that our own proposals encountered immediate hostile criticism on this very head. The idea of putting, for example, the children's service and at least half of the probation service under educational administration was very badly received indeed. Much of the criticism arose from an objective feeling that the arrangement would not make for efficiency. Some of it, on the other hand, arose from a subjective reaction against educationalists, with their supposed reactionary, disciplinarian, unpermissive attitudes which could be expected to give rise to at best a refusal to be involved, and at worst an inability to sympathise, with children. These are not views to which

I subscribe. On the contrary, I have always been prepared to regard the school teachers as the social workers in the front line, with the best opportunity, which they are ready to take, of spotting things as they begin to go wrong, and of applying such first aid as may either take the place of, or at least be of service while awaiting, the advice and treatment of those with specialised training.

The New Panels

So much for the ideas behind the proposals. The proposals themselves, being of a radical character, have met with criticism which I shall venture to describe as, for the most part, favourable. Unfavourable criticism has been expressed in certain criminological circles, by members of juvenile courts as at present constituted, and by the public at large. The last-named section of opinion has tended to mistrust the consequences of the abolition of the juvenile courts. The man in the street is quite unprepared for an extension of humanitarian or even experimental remedies in the face of what he regards as a growing social menace. He thinks that the court, not the panel, is the place for young thieves and hooligans, and he is more interested in punishment than in other forms of treatment. But there is no reason whatever to suppose that the substitution of the social for the criminal tribunal will in any sense herald a permissive millennium, or that in practice the treatments ordered by the panels will be more lenient than heretofore. It is one of the defects of a system which assesses treatments for children in trouble on the same principles as it assesses the disposal of adults that, as our report put it, "the present arrangements may sometimes inhibit the application of measures which, on an educational principle, are clearly needed, but which cannot readily be justified on the basis of the offence viewed in isolation as a mere infraction of the criminal code." An obvious example arises from the popular but erroneous equiparation of an approved school to a kind of Young Offenders Institution, and the educational treatment which should be given there to purely penal measures. On such a view, it is said to be wrong to commit to an approved school anyone who has not been through the ordinary *cursus honorum* of warning, admonition, fine, and at least one period of probation. There is not much to be said for this theory of sentencing even in the case of adults, but with juveniles it may be disastrous, and make it impossible for an approved school to do for a boy what it might have been able to do had he not been committed there too late.

! Rather curiously, the criminological objections tend to take an opposite if not an inconsistent line. Fears are expressed lest the panels act as nameless and faceless bureaucrats issuing *lettres de cachet*, on the motion of the social services, for the incarceration of helpless victims who seem to have lost some of their civil rights. It would, again, be wrong not to take this criticism seriously. It proceeds, I rather think, from a consideration of what an American constitutional lawyer would call "due process of law." The fear is lest the child who has incurred the suspicion of his country's criminal law is to be tried and perhaps punished without the constitutional safeguards which would be his right were he of riper years. The textbook answer to this is, of course, twofold—(a) that the panels do not adjudicate upon guilt, but only upon treatment, and (b) that in custodial cases, as we recommended (but in all cases, as the White Paper proposes) there is to be an appeal to the Sheriff. I am not sure how far these answers are adequate. I know that there is a strong feeling that many children plead guilty when they have good grounds, whether in fact or in law, for not doing so. But in this company I will take a bolder and more perilous line, and will attack the concept of "due process" itself, so far as it is sought to apply it in this field. The doctrine is a concomitant of the accusatorial or adversary system of criminal procedure. The Fifth Amendment was passed at a time when the European inquisitorial system was unreformed, or at least it can be said that the reforms had not been appreciated in the United States. But I wonder whether some form of the inquisitorial system is not more appropriate to the work of the panels than is our current dogma. Certainly we hear nothing about "due process" in the nursery or the schoolroom, where it would be totally out of place. It is not necessarily a reputable concept. It is part of the armoury of the accusatorial lawyer, who when he leaves the court having obtained the acquittal of his guilty client is not at all ashamed of himself, but on the contrary has one more scalp at his waistband. The morality of his position is by no means self-evident. Further than that into the jurisprudence of the criminal procedures I do not think I ought to penetrate.

The misgivings expressed by some members of juvenile courts pose a question to which, frankly, I do not know the answer. In fact there are really two questions. First, it having been decided as long ago as 1932 that in principle specially constituted justice of the peace juvenile courts should be set up, why was it left to the Secretary of State to set these up, as events turned out, only in areas in which the local

authority had asked for such action to be taken? Second, why in all Scotland did only Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Fife and the City of Aberdeen consent to and thus achieve the constitution of such courts? I regret my inability to answer these questions, because I think we are on an important point here. From my reading and my limited personal communications, I have come to have considerable regard for the English juvenile courts, which appear to be constituted on somewhat similar lines to those whose establishment in Scotland was so limited. I will gladly pay a similar tribute to the courts in the four Scottish areas to which I have referred. The importance, to my mind, of this apparently almost abortive provision in the practice of Scotland is that one might well expect that the people who are to man the new panels will be the same, to a large extent, as those who sat in the statutory juvenile courts. It is greatly to be hoped so. We can ill-afford to lose the services of informed and public-spirited people. In so far as they are critical of the scope or nature of the proposals, I think they are wrong, and are perhaps failing to appreciate the value of the services they themselves gave, and how those services are still essential. This is an important aspect of the public reaction. Everywhere you hear the question asked, "How are you going to find people to sit on the panels, and still more, to act as reporters"? The answer to this question is the kind of answer you give in war. It is not a valid objection to a necessary and practicable operation that it will give rise to difficult administrative problems. If the necessity for the operation can be proved, then a solution to the problems will be found. A negative answer would imply an inadequate command or an incompetent staff.

Integration of the Social Services

The social services as a whole, says the White Paper, have been "developed piecemeal and in response to the identification at different times of different groups of people who needed social help, *e.g.*, deprived children, handicapped persons, old people." This is a polite indictment of the typically British policy of slapping on a remedy to mollify a symptom when the conscience of society (or more likely the insistent voice of some group of busybodies) has obtruded that symptom upon the public gaze. The symptom is, so far as possible, swept under the carpet, but the social evils which gave rise to it are left alone.

The first obvious move towards treating causes rather than effects

is to see to it that the effects, the symptoms of the great evils, are so far as possible all dealt with by the same organisation, instead of by a number of organisations each limited to a small field. It is not only waste which we shall see as a characteristic of the present fragmented efforts. It is actually frustration. Let me give an example. It would be useless to gather up all the existing social work services into large territorial units, so that the only amelioration had been the suppression of local outfits whose small size made them incapable of efficient survival. The consequence would be exactly what you see now in the administration of our large cities, where functions with the same ultimate social purpose are spread among a number of semi-autonomous committees, acting in isolation from one another, in ignorance of one another's work, often in duplication, sometimes even in rivalry. The obvious answer is to unify not the functionaries but the functions, and this is what will be done by the amalgamation of the social work services, and their transfer not to a supra-authority, but to a supra-department within each authority. What the ultimate nature and scale of that authority is to be is, as I have said, as yet undetermined.

I have no doubt that these principles are acceptable to the public. At the same time, one has to remember that the public is an organism which is naturally resistant to change, and naturally loyal to institutions it has come to know well and trust. Such an institution, and I take it merely as an example, not an exception, is the probation service. Our Committee had proposed that the probation service should cease to serve the under-sixteens. The new proposal is that it should cease to exist. Of course the work done by the service will not cease; in fact it will no doubt go on increasing in much the same ratio as we have observed in years past. It is only the organisation and the name which are to alter. It will, however, be necessary as it were to put across these changes to the public, and the authorities may be in for what is known as a "hard sell." That very hardness is the best tribute to the admiration and even affection which devoted officers have won from the people of Britain.

One wonders whether this programme of integration is the first of a series. I have myself some candidates for the attention of administrative reformers. There is room for a long-needed rationalisation of, for example, the powers and duties of local authorities in relation to the youth and community service.

II—THE SOCIAL WORK (SCOTLAND) BILL 1968

J. A. MACK (*Glasgow*) *

THE Bill was published on March 6, 1968, and had completed its Committee stage in the House of Lords by mid-April. It is due at the time of writing (early May 1968) to be debated by the Commons and will probably have its third reading by June. The intention of the Government is to begin to bring the main provisions of the Act into operation on a date in May 1969. Miss Beti Jones has been appointed to take charge of the social services operation so far as the Scottish central departments are concerned: her title is Chief Adviser in Social Work. Miss Jones was formerly Children's Officer in Glamorgan and carried through a notable re-organisation in that county of the social services concerned with children and their families.

There are no surprises in the Bill. The provisions for the unification of the personal social services—the Kilbrandon "matching field organisation" writ large—follow the White Paper *Social Work in the Community*¹ fairly precisely. The clauses on the Children's Panels which are to replace the present variegated Scottish juvenile court arrangements repeat with minor modifications Part Two of the Kilbrandon Report.¹ Many of the questions which readers of this *Journal* will want answered will still have to wait for the masses of explanatory memoranda, advices, rules of procedure, and administrative orders which will in due course fill in the picture. But the outlines are clear, and the House of Lords discussions have filled in a few corners here and there and also given some indication of general reactions to the reforms as a whole.

These (*pace* and pending the Commons discussions, which will be noted in a later issue of this *Journal*) would appear to be broadly favourable. The social medicals, and the clinical and educational psychologists,² would prefer a social services re-organisation focused on the existing health and education departments, rather than on the comparatively new profession of social work in a new Social Work department of the local authority. But the argument for re-organisation is generally accepted, and the Lords discussion (Lord Ferrier *contradicente*) suggests that this particular unification will be

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¹ See Notes in this *Journal* in Vol. 4, pp. 604-606 (The Kilbrandon Report) and Vol. 7, pp. 103 and 336-339 (White Paper).

² For the latter see Mr. Dell's letter in this *Journal* Vol. 7, pp. 478-479.

given its head. Similarly with the Children's Panel proposals, although here the objections to the principle of the thing listed by Lord Kilbrandon above may come out strongly in the Commons. They certainly were muted in the Lords, as they have hitherto and most extraordinarily been muted in public discussion in Scotland itself.

The main points of conflict to emerge so far concern the timing of the reforms, the size of the local authority unit, and the future of adult probation. The Royal Commission on Scottish Local Government (chairman Lord Wheatley) is expected to produce its report later this year or in 1969, and the Government was advised by several noble Lords to wait for it and for the new pattern of local government areas it will prescribe. But this, as Lord Hughes, the Scottish Office spokesman, pointed out, would mean in effect postponing these reforms till the Greek Kalends, or 1975 at the earliest, and previous governments had deemed the matters dealt with by the Kilbrandon Committee to be urgent as far back as 1961.

The question of the size of areas arises from a clear departure in the Bill from the White Paper which held that "on balance" it would be best to place responsibility for the new department on counties (including the four "counties of cities") allowing for joint action by counties with small populations. The Bill proposes that the councils of what in Scotland are called large burghs should in addition to counties "be local authorities for the purposes of the Bill." It is difficult to explain this decision, announced by the Secretary of State for Scotland in 1967, except as part of a successful skirmish by the large burghs, which range from Paisley with 100,000 to Arbroath with 21,000 population, in anticipation of the major struggle for survival which will be launched by the forthcoming Royal Commission Report. The proposal might conceivably break up the existing probation service, which is organised jointly by combinations of counties and large burghs in all but one of the thirty-odd county areas. Although this particular folly is unlikely in practice, it might be the case that the large burghs will insist on retaining their (former) independent children's service element in the new Social Work department while continuing their joint county-burgh organisation in the (former) probation element of the new unified service. This would certainly be a remarkable way to run a unified service.

Lord Hughes was obviously uncomfortable in his defence of the proposition. He pinned his hopes mainly on joint action. In some cases, he thought, "the large burghs have at the back of their minds

the idea of a voluntary arrangement which . . . will be much better than something which is forced upon them . . ." and he added, surprisingly and somewhat mysteriously: "the power is placed firmly in the hands of the counties."³ In the event the Lords threw out the Government's proposal by 76 to 47.

The vote was much narrower on clause 26, which proposes to merge the probation service, juvenile *and adult*, into the new department; and the balance of argument in the long debate was more evenly balanced still. The Lords approved the clause by 48 to 46, but more may be heard of Lord Drumalbyn's suggestion, which chimes, as I recall, with a Scottish Advisory Committee recommendation of some years ago, that the probation service, or more precisely the probation service for over-sixteens, should be made a central department responsibility. It might be, he said, "that the Secretary of State himself would not only recruit and train" [as happens just now] "but appoint and post these probation officers to social work departments on what I think in military parlance is called 'attachment'." (House of Lords Official Report, April 9, 1968, col. 199.) It certainly seems that something should be done to meet certain criticisms put forward by the Sheriffs-Substitute Association. The Government may well be influenced by the thought that the courts might make less use of probation, and take less interest in the new after-care rôle of the service, if they have doubts about the proposed changes. It is probable that Lord Hughes had this particular recommendation in mind when he observed: "I have no doubt, as has been suggested by Lord Drumalbyn, that clause 26 can be improved in detail by Amendments both here and in another place" (col. 211).

The Bill, as we have noted, is simply the third chapter of what looks like being a long story. The new Social Work departments are due to come into existence, on present timing, on a date in May 1969, and it will take some time for the majority of the areas to make them fully operational. Other parts of the Act will be brought in at different dates on appointed days: and it is proposed that the new Children's Panels should begin to operate in 1971. Even leaving aside the primary issue of finding and training the social workers, and on a voluntary basis the panel members, the time will be more than occupied in finding administrative solutions to the problems and imbalances already evident in the enterprise as shaped by the Bill. On the all-important side of the new executive instrument, the Social Work department, the

³ House of Lords Official Report: April 4, 1968, col. 1339.

Bill leans very heavily on the existing legislation which it consolidates. Thus it gives on the face of it excessive priority to services for children. Doubtless certain basic services to adults are covered by other Acts, and doubtless the new department will discharge some of its responsibilities to old people, for example, by means of administrative alliances and co-ordinations with the medical services. But the Bill could have attempted to begin filling some of the gaps in social provision for the elderly.

There are also specifically Scottish deficiencies which have not so far been officially noted. There is no statutory service of marriage guidance in Scotland. In England and Wales the probation service has a statutory obligation to provide a service covering these matters. In Scotland any work of this kind done by probation officers is entirely voluntary, and probation officers receive little or no training preparation for this work. There is a thriving voluntary agency, the Scottish Marriage Guidance Association, with Councils in a number of areas. There should be some means of ensuring that the voluntary worker operates, in any system which aims at a unified service, under the direction and guidance of professional social workers. Indeed this is one field in which the statutory-voluntary model of co-operation would be animated and energised by the very lively voluntary exponents of this comparatively new social enterprise.

Readers of this *Journal* will be pre-eminently concerned with the prospects for the Children's Panels. This is not the place to estimate at length the comparative probable effectiveness of the Scottish Panel idea on the one hand and the proposals of the new English White Paper on *Children in Trouble*—viz., to retain the juvenile court for certain cases and to dispose of most of the present juvenile court work by informal procedures. (One is reminded of the mighty precedent of the Reformation, complete and drastic in Scotland, moderated in England to a broadly conservative re-adjustment of ecclesiastical and dynastic loyalties.) One main impression given by the Lords discussion is of a whittling down of the original Kilbrandon design. Thus the actual court-surrogate will be, not the Panel, which is to be a list of names of people, but the Children's Hearing, three people drawn from the list. This use of "Panel" is quite in accord with linguistic usage. (The new term "Hearing" may have a struggle to survive.) But one realistic inference to be drawn from the Lords debate is that the framers of the Bill do not seem to have envisaged much in the way of a corporate role for the Panel—i.e., all the people on the list—in

each area. One gets the impression that they will be in practice a list of names, not an active entity co-operating with the Director of Social Work on general preventive policy in their area.⁴ Since it was a major weakness of at least one of Scotland's four justice of the peace juvenile courts (and possibly of them all) that the panel of justices seldom or never met for general discussion, the Government would do well to guard against building the same defect-potential into the new system.

⁴ See particularly Lord Hughes and the Marquess of Lothian in House of Lords Official Report, April 9, 1968, col. 224; and compare Lord Hughes in col. 222. The Government appears on this to be in at least two minds about the panels.

THE CRIME INDUSTRY

J. J. TOBIAS (*Basingstoke*) *

ONE branch of economic theory examines the factors affecting the size of an industry. Though no one pretends to be able to account precisely for what happens at a particular time and place, it is often possible to suggest how circumstances have affected the industry. In the same way other features—the size of the average firm or the operational unit, for example—can often profitably be discussed. Criminal activity, though often discussed from other viewpoints, has not (as far as I know) been studied from the standpoint of economic theory, and this article is an attempt to remedy this deficiency.¹

There is a preliminary objection to be dealt with. Many criminologists would be inclined to reject out of hand the basic concept on which such an attempt must be based. Crime, it would be argued by many, is a result of sociological or psychological factors or both, not an activity rationally chosen by nicely balancing profit and loss. To this objection two answers can be made. First, crime is not the only activity which results in economic gain but is governed also by non-economic factors. Economists have long since abandoned (if they ever held) the belief in "Economic Man," the creature who conducts his affairs on the basis of economic considerations alone; but it has often proved fruitful to analyse the way in which Economic Man would behave if he existed, leaving social and other forces that operate in the real world to be considered later. The factors which determine whether a youngster in a Welsh valley will go down the pit or make for the big city are by no means purely economic; but it would not be a vain exercise, when studying the manpower problems of the coal industry, to consider the consequences of varying the economic parameters affecting his choice. Equally, though sociological or psychological pressures may be dominant in determining whether youngsters commit crime, economic considerations may play their part as well. (This is all the more true because, as will transpire later, some economic considerations are the counterparts of sociological considerations, or

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The opinions expressed are those of the author and not those of the Commandant of the Police College or of the Home Office.

¹ B. M. Fleisher in *The Economics of Delinquency* (review in this *Journal*, Oct. 1966) applies supply and demand theory and regression analysis to the entry of young people into criminal activity; the approach of this paper to the problem is quite different.

even merely their restatement in other words. Even this latter activity, of course, may bring fresh light to bear upon a problem.) The second answer to the objection is simply that some crime is carried on purely for gain by criminals who have chosen that form of economic activity for economic reasons. It may be that the number of full-time professional criminals is small in relation to the number of part-time amateurs, as is the case with cricketers for example, but it would be difficult to maintain that rational decision did not come into the matter, that economic factors and market forces played no part at all in the adoption of crime as a continuing activity. Criminals of the type in question may be relatively few in number, but the crimes they commit are important—for one thing, many receivers probably fall into this category. The considerations set out below apply at any rate to this group, if not to the wider body of criminals-for-non-economic-reasons.

Another preliminary point must be made for the benefit of readers not accustomed to the "equilibrium theory" approach of the economist. This approach rests on the technique of asking in respect of each individual strand of the problem "What would be the effect of variations in this respect *if everything else were held constant?*" The economist is well aware that everything else cannot be held constant, and has to allow for this at a later stage of the analysis, but the technique allows the effect of each factor to be considered in isolation. It does at times, however, make it seem that an undue importance is being given to one factor. If I say that an increase in passenger-train fares relative to freight charges will reduce the likelihood that a young Welshman will leave home, I may appear to be attaching too much importance to a minor factor; but the isolation of the various factors affecting a problem is and should be a separate exercise from the consideration of the weight that is to be attached to them.

Accepting then that it is worthwhile to attempt to apply economic theory to what we may call the crime industry, this article considers first the factors affecting the size of the industry, then the factors affecting the size of the "factory" (the operational unit), and next factors affecting the size of the criminal firm. From time to time a point will be illustrated by reference to British or American experience.

Size of Industry

The factors governing entry into the crime industry may be regarded as similar to the factors affecting entry into any other industry. The

individual (who would in another industry be called the entrepreneur) may be considered to ask himself what return he will get in the industry for a given investment of resources. The return is to be understood to include all monetary and non-monetary factors, and the investment of resources of course will very often mean only the investment of his time. The activities of those who attempt to prevent the criminal carrying on his work, whether the owner of the property concerned or police officers or anybody else, may be lumped together with what might be called the natural difficulties of the job—the technical difficulties of scaling a wall or opening a safe, for example. All these things are outside the control of the criminal, in the way that the weather, the incursion of depredators and the variations of the market are outside the control of the farmer. He can—indeed must—do his best to cope with the problems they present, but the dimensions of the equation are set for him.

Accepting this, we can treat any variation in the likelihood of success on the one hand or capture on the other as merely altering the balance of monetary and non-monetary advantages. The monetary advantages are of course the cash proceeds of crime less any payments necessary to their acquisition. The non-monetary advantages include any mental or psychological satisfactions obtained from the crime (just as the reward that criminologists receive includes the mental satisfaction they derive from their labours, for example). Non-monetary disadvantages include, obviously, the risk of capture, and, if the crime is important enough, imprisonment. Many people will feel shame or moral discomfort at being involved in crime, and this too is a non-monetary disadvantage. This latter point is of course most important, for it can be argued that this is the factor that makes crime an unprofitable activity to the great mass of honest people.

It is now possible to examine some of the factors which may affect the criminal's decision to enter the industry. It must be noted straight away that the crime industry today is likely to be relatively more attractive than it was in previous years. Earnings by crime are not subject to income tax, selective employment tax, or national insurance deductions. At any stage, therefore, where a criminal or a potential criminal is, comparing the proceeds of honest and dishonest activity the former will be at more of a disadvantage than they would be if tax rates were lower. Here it is perhaps necessary to repeat the earlier cautionary note. The argument is not that this is an important factor in causing people to become criminals, but that the effect can only

be in the direction indicated; however slight its effect may be, it can only operate to increase the size of the crime industry. In fact, the effect may not be all that slight. It is conceivable that the temptation to make untaxed profits has led some people to add receiving to a hitherto honest business—the café proprietor who accepts some stolen cigarettes, for example, may well count on the saving of income tax as well as the cheapness of the goods—and anything which adds to the number of receivers cannot be an unimportant factor. There are a number of similar considerations. The industry is not subject to the mass of forms which affects many others. There are no trade unions. There is a system of workmen's compensation, but it is an informal one and probably much less troublesome than that which legitimate industry has to cope with.

Other non-monetary advantages and disadvantages can be identified. The risk of imprisonment has already been mentioned, but more can be said about it. Imprisonment is less frequently used as a punishment today than in earlier periods, and conditions in prison are more comfortable than they once were; these changes reduce the importance of the risk of imprisonment. On the other hand, sentences are now longer than in the inter-war period. Moreover, the rise in the general standard of living and in the level of control over the conditions of his life exercised by the average man may make prison's restraints more irksome. These factors increase the importance of the risk of imprisonment. (One cannot quantify these effects or strike a balance between them, but this does not mean that they do not exist.) Statistics suggest that a lower proportion of those who commit crime is detected than was the case before the war, and this reduces the disadvantages attached to crime. It is possible that there is a reduction in the courts' disposition to believe police evidence—certainly some police officers feel that police witnesses are exposed to hostile attack by defence counsel much more frequently than was the case before the war; this too would make crime industry more attractive.

The crime industry, as will be noted later, is typically one in which there is ample opportunity for the small man. This facilitates entry into the industry. A further factor which has the same effect is that very little investment of capital is required, at any rate to start business. This and other factors combine to lead to a high degree of flexibility within the industry. Though many criminals stick to one crime and one pattern of crime until they are caught, it is possible that many others (those who are not caught, or are not caught so

frequently) change their pattern of crime. It seems likely that there is a rapidity of response to changing conditions and a willingness to adopt new methods which might well with advantage be copied by other industries.

It is probable that members of the crime industry display very much the same immobility as those of other industries when it comes to leaving the industry for another. Criminals show no signs of being more ready to change their trade, where this means a complete move out of the industry, than anybody else is. Of course members of the crime industry face a particular difficulty when seeking to leave it, if their membership is known—that is to say, if they have been convicted of crime. The reluctance of honest people to employ criminals or self-styled ex-criminals is a factor which reduces the likelihood that they will leave the industry. This inability means that, as in the case of other industries, a decline in the size of the crime industry usually takes the form of a reduction in the number of juvenile entrants to it. For example, the reduction of the number of criminals at the end of the nineteenth century came about as a result of the sharp reduction in the number of experienced juvenile criminals in the later 1850s and onwards.

An increase in the size of an industry often has the effect of increasing the efficiency with which individual firms in the industry may operate. What are called "external economies of scale" arise; subordinate firms are set up to carry on specialised activities, the people of a particular district become familiar with the processes of a particular trade, and so forth. These considerations hold good in the crime industry. An increase in the number of criminals, if the number of police is not increased correspondingly, handicaps the latter and reduces their chance of capturing any one criminal. Specialised firms may be established—receivers will be operating more efficiently, and it will be easier for criminals to dispose of their takings. It will become easier to obtain particular items of equipment not available on the legitimate market. Specialised forms of labour will become more readily available—in a town with a thriving group of criminals, it will be easier to obtain, say, a skilled driver for the get-away car or a skilled safe-breaker. Part of the explanation for the reduction in the level of crime in this country at the end of the nineteenth century may be found in a reduction of the economies of scale as the industry shrank in size. Another advantage of a large crime industry may be that it is easier to corrupt law-enforcement officers and lawyers.

The size of an industry is a reflection of the circumstances affecting that particular industry at a particular time. There is held to be an optimum size for any particular set of circumstances, the size at which the industry operates to best advantage. (In practice, of course, there is rather a band of sizes at which something like optimum conditions are obtainable.) The troubles of the coal industry, for example, can be stated in the form that the industry is above optimum size; unemployment, short-time and losses will continue until the industry is small enough to produce only the amount of coal that is saleable at a profit. On the other hand cases arise—such as segments of the electronics industry, perhaps—where an industry is too small to produce all that can be sold; overtime and high profits continue until the industry grows to near the optimum size. The same concept can be applied to industries, or services, where sales do not enter into the picture. There is an optimum number of policemen for a given set of conditions; if the number is too far below this level, the over-worked force will be unable to provide an adequate service, while if the actual number is too much above the optimum level policemen will find time hanging on their hands and some of the nation's resources will be wasted.

When these considerations are applied to the crime industry, we have to think in terms of the opportunities available to its members. If the industry is above optimum size, it will be difficult to turn a dishonest penny without incurring an unacceptable degree of risk. If the industry is below optimum size, easy pickings will be available on more favourable terms than those represented by the long-term average. If it is true that there has been an increase in crime in this country since the war, we can say that conditions have changed in a way that increases the optimum size of the industry. It is a platitude that more thefts of cars and their contents take place nowadays because there are more cars to be stolen or rifled; in a more general way, as Dr. Nigel Walker has put it, "The affluent society is a society of opportunity, which includes the dishonest as well as the industrious amongst its beneficiaries."

Indeed, it may well be that the growth of the crime industry in this country of recent years has taken it past a critical point, a point at which the industry acquires such strength and resilience that it is able to respond successfully to any changes in conditions imposed on it from outside. The idea may be explained by using another piece of economic theory, the justification of a protective customs duty that is known as the "Infant Industry argument." This justification starts from the

premise that in the early years of its life an industry may be unable to cope with the competition of imports from other countries because it has not had a chance to build up economies of scale. If it were protected by a tariff for a sufficiently long period, it might grow to a point at which the economies of scale would enable it to meet its competitors without tariff assistance. In the field of crime, it is suggested, conditions at a certain time might be such as to allow the crime industry to develop to a point at which it was sufficiently large and effective to withstand any subsequent changes in the circumstances affecting it. A removal of the causes which led to the growth might not be sufficient to check the growth once it had become self-supporting. An example of this is the effect on crime in the United States of the Prohibition era; the stimulus to the crime industry given by that misguided attempt at moral regeneration led to changes that were not reversed when Prohibition was ended. When that occurred, the now highly-developed criminal organisations merely turned from smuggling illicit drink to other lucrative forms of crime. The railway contractors of the nineteenth century, when there were no railway companies to employ them to build lines, built lines on their own account, using past profits to finance the enterprise until it could be sold. Cable and Wireless Ltd., when its business was nationalised, employed its capital and its expert management in other industries. In much the same way, the highly skilled men in charge of American criminal organisations found new ways in which to put their assets to work.

Size of Unit

The idea of the optimum is applied to the size of the operational unit as well as to the size of the industry. The circumstances affecting a particular industry at a particular time will determine for that industry the optimum size of the operational unit, the factory in most cases. Units of optimum size will be operating on the most favourable basis in the existing conditions, and one would expect to find most units at or near optimum size. As already indicated, in the crime industry the typical unit is very small—often, of course, a single man. The implications of this on the ease of entry into the industry have already been considered.

Though the optimum size of operational unit in the crime industry seems to have been very small in the past, it may be increasing now. Technical considerations could well have effects in this industry similar to those they have had elsewhere. Criminals, like others, tend to use

cars and equipment on a larger scale than hitherto, and this may lead to more men being involved in any particular operation. Another class of considerations tending in the same direction arises from the fact that society's defences against crime are being improved. More sophisticated techniques of safe-breaking (adopted in answer to more sophisticated techniques of safe-making) may call for a larger team. The need to cope with pay-roll guards may mean that a larger group is required to carry out a wages-snatch. One result of such a change is noteworthy. As more men are involved in any particular crime, it is necessary to earn more by that crime or to commit crime more frequently. As the first alternative is likely to be more attractive than the second, the tendency to larger criminal units could result in a tendency to pursue more serious forms of crime.

Size of Firm

A third use of the concept of the optimum is relevant. In a particular set of circumstances, there will be an optimum size of the firm. This is different from the optimum size of an operational unit, of course. A legitimate firm may own several factories, and a single criminal organisation may control many operational units. There may in this case (and indeed in the earlier cases) be not one point but two or more points at which optimum conditions obtain. In the building industry, for example, firms tend to cluster round two optimum points, a fairly small firm of the jobbing builder type, or a very large firm like those whose names are household words. There is no reason why this should not be true in the field of crime also, and there is certainly evidence from the United States that it is the case there. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice suggests that much crime in the United States is the work of one single large organisation, whilst it also calls attention to the existence of a mass of juvenile crime in which essentially each individual is a firm in himself.

This tendency to form large firms is not a recent phenomenon. The Prohibition era in the United States seems to have resulted in a considerable increase in the optimum size of firm. The gang wars of the era were a form of competition between very large firms, analogous to the cut-throat advertising campaigns in other industries. Similar developments have not been unknown in this country. In the seventeenth century Moll Cutpurse and in the eighteenth century Jonathan Wild attained for a time control over much of London's crime, and

there have been suggestions that large-scale organisations have been increasingly active in London since the easing of the gambling laws. From a theoretical point of view, improvements in society's defences against crime—better policing or the growth of private security organisations—may be expected to have the effect of driving criminals to more organised forms of crime as a means of obtaining protection. As in the corresponding case discussed in relation to the size of the operational unit, this is likely to lead to the commission of a more serious type of crime.

. The increase in the size of a firm leads to internal advantages of scale, some of which are very similar to the corresponding external advantages. For example, a very large firm can afford to employ its own specialists—expert drivers, safe-breakers, corrupt lawyers and so forth. There are also disadvantages of size. These have been immortalised for government bodies by Professor Parkinson; but private organisations are not immune from the same factors. The President's Commission suggests (page 195) that similar considerations operate within the crime syndicate as well.

The size of the firm need not be as large as the size of the operational unit. Many criminal enterprises are undertaken by what may be regarded as a number of separate firms working in co-operation for a particular job—what is called a consortium in other industries. In some cases there exists a loose association something like a barrister's chambers or the chartered companies of overseas trade in earlier centuries. There are groups of, say, six to ten criminals who very often work together in sub-groups made up as convenient in a particular case. One or other will take the initiative in gathering together for a specific job a sub-group of a suitable size and composition, the proceeds being shared only amongst those involved.

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The Crime Industry in the Past

An historical analysis of the crime industry of this country using the approach suggested in this article may be of interest. I have elsewhere suggested that there was probably an upsurge of crime, first in London and later in all the large towns, in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. I have suggested that the flood of new migrants to the towns found there a whole host of problems to which the criminal way of life presented the best solution—in other words, the crime industry possessed superior advantages to any other opening available to them. As the criminal class and

the criminal areas increased in size, external advantages of scale came into play. Despite continual improvements in the police and other pieces of social apparatus, the crime industry was a flourishing and profitable one responding to all challenges on a basis of a number of areas (rookeries) highly specialised in crime, where a wide range of specialist institutions was concentrated and where a highly trained labour supply was available.

This situation continued to exist until the 1850s and 1860s. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the rising tide of Victorian prosperity began to increase the attraction of competitive industries, and the reformatory schools and industrial schools came to break the informal but very effective apprenticeship system which had bound boys to the crime industry very early in life. By cutting down the flow of entrants to the industry, they (helped, of course, by many other factors) brought about a reduction in its size. As the size of the industry fell, external advantages began to be less important. Many of the specialised localities disappeared; there were not so many trade clubs ("flash-houses") or specialised ancillary firms—above all the receivers who perform so important a function in relation to those in the larceny trade. By the First World War these things had brought about a marked decline in the size of the industry.

A detailed study of the crime of the twentieth century has yet to be made, and the inter-war years in particular remain a blank from this point of view. It is, however, often suggested that since the Second World War the crime industry has increased dramatically in size. If this is true, the following factors may have been at work, with others, to bring this about. The war-time "fiddling" and the black market had accustomed many people to the feeling of illegality and hence reduced the unpleasantness thereof. After the war, the general mood had perhaps become less antagonistic to crime, and also less favourable towards those who made money by what had hitherto been regarded as legitimate activities—property owners and many others were widely said to be no better than criminals from a moral point of view. The continued outpouring of such ideas, however ill-expressed and ill-founded they may be, has perhaps blurred the feeling that the crime industry is different from others. Moreover, the war-time black market had introduced new people to the techniques and locales of the crime industry, and by increasing the size had, as hitherto, led to some external advantages. As already argued, the higher post-war taxation and the higher level of government intervention in the affairs of

legitimate trades after the war would increase the relative attractiveness of the crime industry.

On the other hand, the police service was possibly at a low ebb in efficiency in the decade or so after the war, because of manpower shortages and the retirement of many experienced men. It was thus less likely that the criminal would be detected. More recently, improvements in police strength and police organisation may perhaps have played their part in causing a rise in the optimum size of operational unit or of criminal firm, thus leading to a rise in organised crime. The latter tendency was perhaps also assisted by the revision of the gambling laws, which is sometimes said to have presented particular opportunities to large criminal firms. It is conceivable that the combination of these factors has been sufficient to establish a well-based and profitable industry which will be resourceful enough to respond to and to cope with any changes in conditions.

Conclusions

The discussion could, of course, be refined by applying the theoretical considerations that have been outlined to each individual branch of the crime industry, which, like any other industry, is really a *congeries* of many similar smaller industries. After all, the considerations which lead to an increase in the size of the crime industry as a whole need not necessarily lead to an increase in the number of people committing any one particular crime. Factors which lead to an increase in the size of the firm may perhaps lead to a reduction in the size of the industry as a whole.

No such full analysis will here be attempted. However, the new way of looking at the crime industry suggested in this note may perhaps assist in estimating the consequences of a change in society's techniques of dealing with crime. It is possible that the first results of increased police activity will be a switch by criminals to the sort of crime that society likes least; it may be that this is the price which has to be paid in the short- and medium-term for the long-term advantages which are to be obtained. A parole system may save some criminals from committing further crimes; but by inducing other criminals to adjust their estimation of the non-monetary advantages and disadvantages of remaining in the crime industry, it may well actually increase the number of criminals.

It is tempting to venture a more extended analysis of the consequences of arming the police or security guards. One result might be

to reduce the number of criminals willing to carry out the more serious crimes, those in which firearms were in fact likely to be used by one side or the other. As the number of these specialists was reduced and their risk was increased—in terms both of personal injury and of length of sentence if they were caught—the share of the proceeds that they claimed would increase. As the others involved in these major crimes—planners, receivers and other supporting elements—would be unlikely to accept a reduction in their share (their risks too would increase, if not so markedly), there would be pressure to increase the size of the sum to be distributed. We could therefore expect this group of criminals to commit fewer crimes in total (because it would be a smaller group) but to make more attempts at the really big targets. Moreover, it is not to be assumed that those deterred from crimes likely to result in the use of firearms would leave the industry. They would, it may be supposed, concentrate on smaller crimes against targets where armed guards were not likely to be found and in circumstances not likely to cause the police to use their arms. As such crimes would be less profitable, they would seek to commit more of them. This group of criminals would therefore commit more crimes but crimes of lesser magnitude. The results of arming the police and security guards might therefore be to reduce the number of attacks on medium-size targets but to increase the number of attacks on the very large and the smaller targets.

It will be obvious enough that the individual ideas put forward in this article are speculation indeed; but it seems reasonable to suggest that the application of economic analysis to the crime industry could be as fruitful as in the case of other industries.

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CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION FROM THE SMALL TOWN TO THE LARGE URBAN CONURBATION

M. A. P. WILLMER (*London*) *

Introduction

OVER the past years criminal statistics have shown that the number of indictable offences known to the police has risen to a record high level. In 1964 there were in fact 1,067,963 such offences recorded for England and Wales. During this time the population has grown and the country is, in general, enjoying a record standard of living. Our towns and cities have also grown and in some cases it is difficult to know where one stops and another begins. In this way we have obtained large urban conurbations where people tend to work in one district, live in another and spend their money in a third. Opportunities for crime have increased and, with more cars on better roads, criminals have been able to achieve a high degree of mobility. All these factors have made it more difficult for detectives to carry out their task of solving crimes because the information which they need is now harder to obtain. It is not surprising, therefore, that over the same period detection rates have fallen. Indeed in some parts of the country the detection rate for many classes of crime is extremely low, *e.g.*, for breaking offences it can be as low as 20 per cent.

The gradual fall in detection rates over past years serves as a reminder that the police service using traditional means has been losing the battle for the information which is necessary in order to solve crimes. The backbone of the police service has always been the patrolling constable. Each police district was divided into beats and each beat was patrolled by a constable. In the days when the service could attract suitable recruits without difficulty, these beats were patrolled on foot and the constables performed such functions as checking property, watching for suspicious people, getting to know inhabitants on the beats and generally keeping the peace. However, as small towns have grown into urban conurbations the coverage given

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to these patrolling functions has steadily diminished. This has been due mainly to an increase in other duties caused by a rising population together with the increase in road mileage, number of vehicles and the resulting number of accidents. Also, the modern police force has had to create specialist departments to supply new expertise and new needs. This development has tended in the past to draw people from routine patrol duties. However, the new policy of using civilians where possible for work in these specialist departments should go some way towards easing the situation.

Now from a scientific point of view the solving of a crime can be regarded as the gathering and use of information about people, things and events in an effort to associate a person or persons with a criminal act or acts with a high degree of probability, *i.e.*, beyond reasonable doubt. Failure, therefore, on the part of the police to solve a crime occurs because the necessary information is:

- (a) not getting into the police system;
- (b) getting into the system but being lost or distorted;
- (c) getting into the system but not being used to the best advantage.

As far as factor (a) is concerned, it has been found by experience that the trend towards decreasing the amount of beat patrolling in operation has led to a loss in contact with the public. This has meant that much useful information has stopped reaching the police system. The effect of factors (b) and (c) is not so readily apparent although there are grounds for believing that they are just as important as in the case of factor (a). It is worth noting that the police service has long been conscious of this deteriorating situation and many forces have tried various experiments in order to find ways of improving it.

This paper will examine the theoretical basis of many of these experiments. In order to do this it will extend the writer's theory on the value of information in criminal investigation work (Willmer, 1966). This theory treated the work of the detective as essentially one in which efforts were made to decrease the uncertainty or entropy concerning crimes and the people in the society who could have committed them. The extension of this theory described in this paper starts by examining the basic method of criminal investigation used by the police today. After discussing, in broad terms, the types of information which are required to solve crimes, it will look at the way the changing nature of society from small town to urban conurbation can alter the value of different pieces of information as well

as the frequency and probability that they are received by the police network. It will show how a new idea for policing large towns and conurbations known as unit beat policing, which is currently being examined experimentally in several parts of the country including the Metropolis, is based upon the theoretical principles described in this paper. Lastly, it will consider the possible use of computers in order to increase police performance still further.

The Basic Method of Criminal Investigation

Figure 1 shows diagrammatically the way in which the problem of solving cases is tackled. Although the diagram shows only two crimes, it can be extended, in principle, to any number.

When a crime is reported, the police go to the scene to investigate. From their searches and enquiries at and in the neighbourhood of the scene, they obtain information which conveniently falls into two basic categories. First, there is *active* information which leads to the establishment of a set of suspects. The strength of the suspicion against each member of this set will be dependent upon the nature of the evidence accumulated. Secondly, there is *passive* information which can only be of use if a set of suspects has been obtained. By the use of this passive information the suspicion against each member of the suspect set, *i.e.*, the probability that each member of the suspect set can be associated with the crime, can be either increased or decreased. These two basic types of information lead by two routes to the "final state of uncertainty" (see figure 1). In those cases where there is sufficient evidence the appropriate person or persons are, in general, charged and sent for trial.

Information about people, things and events also reach the C.I.D. from the public, informants, beat patrol policemen, their own internal local knowledge, etc. Such information can either produce a number of suspects for a given crime or else help establish a pool of general suspects, *i.e.*, people suspected of being actively engaged in crime. This information can be combined with that from the scenes of crimes in order to influence the final state of uncertainty.

From the above it would appear that the establishment of a set of suspects plays a vital role in the solution of crimes. Let us use the concept of entropy to examine this point further. We shall assume that our investigations have led us to the stage where there are n persons in the suspect set all of whom are equally suspect. It can be shown (Willmer, 1966) that, if the probability of the criminal

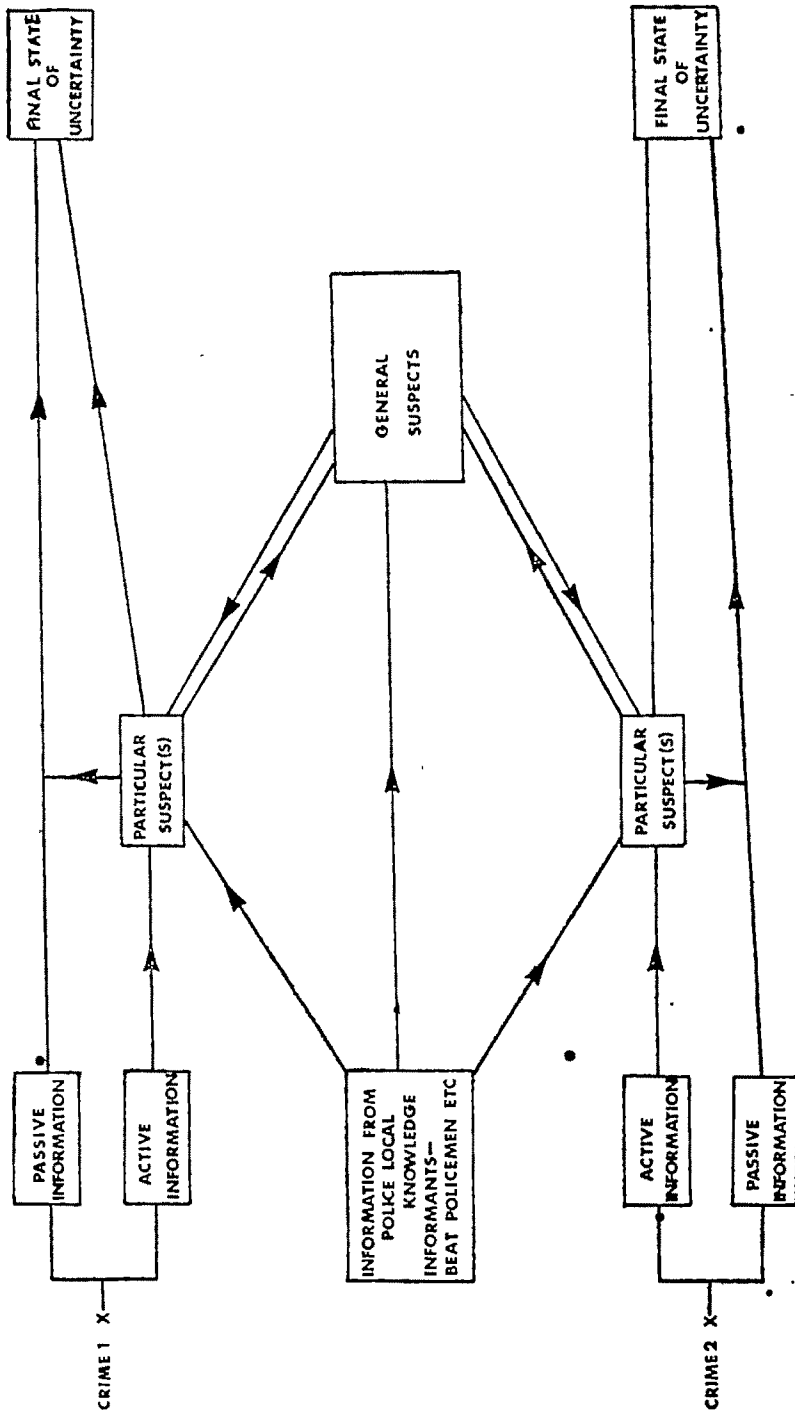


FIGURE 1
Diagram Showing the Importance of Suspects in Criminal Investigations

being in the suspect set is p , the entropy level associated with the crime is given by

$$H = -p \log_{10} \left(\frac{1}{N} \right) - (1-p) \log_{10} \left[\frac{1-p}{N-p} \right] \text{ p.u.i.} \quad (1)$$

where the p.u.i. (police unit of information) is the measure of entropy and where N is the size of the total eligible population. This entropy level is plotted against the probability of the criminal being in the suspect set in Figure 2 for various values of n .

The above analysis shows how essential it is for the police to be able to form a suspect set with a high probability that the set contains the criminal. In practice, the police attempt to form such a set from a combination of the information obtained from enquiries, their local knowledge, records, informants and other forces, etc. In some cases this information will lead to a small suspect group whilst in other cases, especially for the smaller and more trivial crimes the size of the possible suspect set will be very large. Yet even in some of these cases the police have pieces of passive information which could on some occasions be very useful if only the size of the suspect set were of manageable proportions. Another way of looking at passive information is to consider it as information which is associated with a person, but which cannot be used for comparison purposes either because suitable reference data are not recorded in police records or because the means of searching these records are not available. For example, the present police record system contains data only about known criminals. Also, because of a lack of skilled manpower, the police are only able to compare a scene of crime mark with a small proportion of the total number of prints on record. The information which the police have about the non-criminal section of society, in general, is either stored in the minds of individual police officers or is of a general nature concerning a group of the non-criminal part of the population, not particular individuals.

With the decrease in detection rates, the growth of the population, the increasing ownership of the motor car and fast roads etc., policemen do not know so much about people both criminal and non-criminal as they did years ago when populations were more self-contained and isolated. These changes in our way of life will affect the value of pieces of information which the police receive. To examine the effect further let us consider the growth of a small town into a large conurbation.

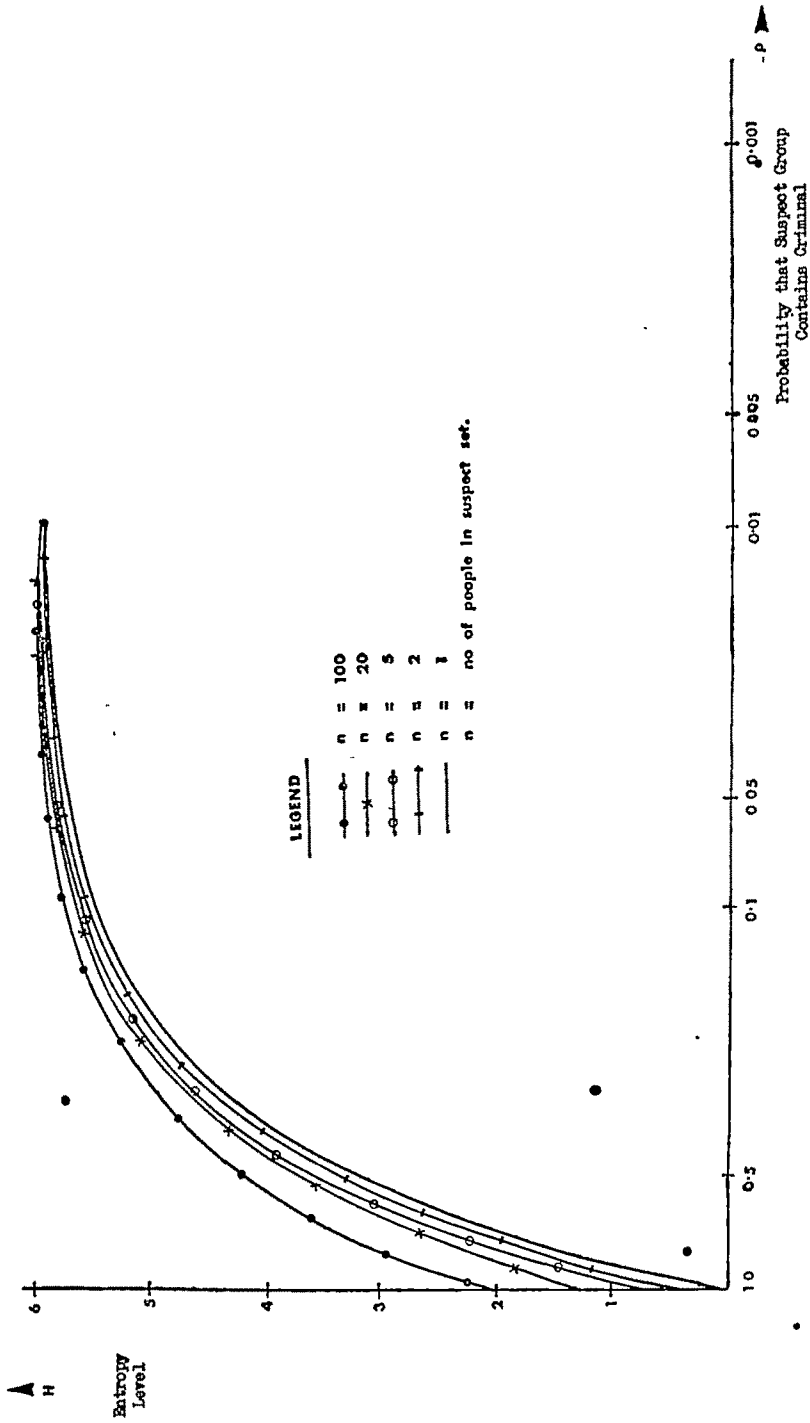


FIGURE 2
Variation of the Entropy Level with the Probability that the Criminal is in the Suspect Set

From Small Town to Urban Conurbation

Let us consider a society consisting of N people and let us suppose that a proportion, λ , belong to a group on whom the police have records and the means to interrogate them. These records will be composed of two parts. First, there are the formal records giving the descriptions, addresses, details of previous convictions etc. of the criminals in the society. Secondly, there is the information about all sections of the society obtained by the police in the course of their duties which is only rarely considered to be of sufficient importance to be formally recorded, *e.g.*, the grocer's son has just bought a new motorbike.

Now let us suppose that a piece of information is received at the scene of a crime which could link someone with the crime, *e.g.*, the criminal had red hair, was left-handed, smoked an uncommon brand of tobacco, etc. Further let us assume that, of the N people in the society, n could be expected to satisfy the conditions required by the piece of information. We shall also assume that there is no bias towards people with criminal records so that it is reasonable to suppose that each of n people who satisfy the criteria defined by the information are all equally likely to be guilty. Hence the probability that each of these persons can be associated with the crime is $\frac{1}{n}$. However, since we have records and the means to interrogate them on only a proportion λ of the population, we know the names of only λn people who satisfy the criteria. Thus we have λn people who can be associated with the crime with probability $\frac{1}{n}$, $\lambda(N-n)$ people who are innocent because they fail to satisfy the criteria and $(1-\lambda)N$ people who, because the police do not have information about them either formally or informally, must still be considered equally likely to be guilty with probability $\frac{1}{N}$.

Thus, if we assume that, before the information from the scene is obtained, all the N people were equally likely to be guilty with probability $\frac{1}{N}$ the uncertainty level at this point in time is given by

$$H_0 = \log_{10} N \text{ p.u.i.} \quad (2)$$

After the scene-of-crime information has been obtained this uncertainty falls to

$$H_1 = \lambda \log_{10} n + (1-\lambda) \log_{10} N \text{ p.u.i.} \quad (3)$$

Thus the loss of uncertainty or entropy due to the finding of the above piece of information is

$$\Delta H = H_0 - H_1 = \lambda \log_{10} \frac{N}{n} \text{ p.u.i.} \quad (4)$$

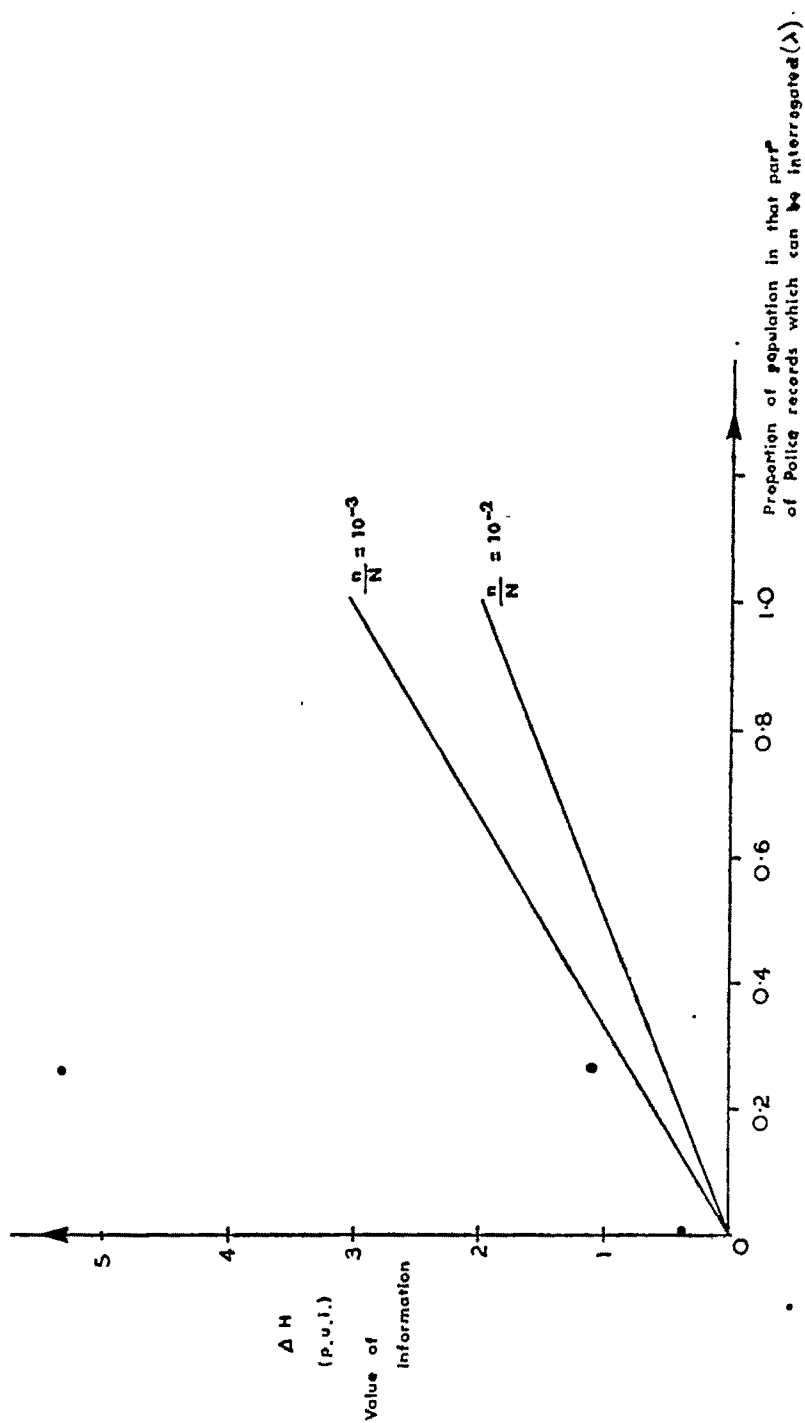


FIGURE 3

The Variation of the Value of a Piece of Information with the Proportion of the Population on whom Information is Kept by Police Records

This loss can be regarded as a measure of the value of the scene-of-crime information. It is plotted in Figure 3 against λ for various values of $\frac{n}{N}$. From this figure it can be seen how the value of a piece of information can drop as villages and small towns grow into parts of urban conurbations. In the village or small town, for instance, where the police tend to know everyone, one would expect λ to be near unity, say about 0.9. In a large city or conurbation this value falls to about 0.10-0.20 and usually includes only known criminals.

So far we have only considered the situation where a crime has been reported and detectives have started their investigations. They have examined the scene of the crime and have made some local enquiries to see if anyone nearby saw or heard anything of value around the time when it was thought the crime was committed. As a result of these enquiries the police have obtained several items of information, and we have seen how the value of such items of information has fallen as towns expand.

Let us now consider how the expansion of communities affects items of information which reach the police service either as a result of ordinary beat patrol duties or routine visits to places frequented by known criminals. Such items of information are often called "intelligence." Some examples of intelligence are the registration number of a criminal's latest car, the names of his associates and the public houses he usually frequents. In a small town there is generally a high probability that, for local crime, the police will appreciate the full significance of any new item of intelligence because they will be in possession of most of the necessary background data. In the large conurbation, using traditional police methods, it becomes increasingly more difficult for policemen and even police forces to be in possession of all the appropriate background data. This means that the probability of the police appreciating the full significance of an item of intelligence is often quite small.

To examine this effect more closely let us examine the basic functions of policemen in crime prevention and detection. Essentially these functions are to receive information, to interpret or process it and to respond to it. Figure 4 shows the situation in diagrammatic form giving a few examples of the possible actions which can be selected. Now the effectiveness of the interpreter unit will, to a large extent, be dependent upon the size of its memory and the usefulness of its contents. Thus a policeman with a more effective interpreter unit will be better able to assess the value of information

which he receives than a policeman with a less effective one. Indeed, a person or machine with all the information concerning a society and its people would be able to assess the value of a given piece of information most accurately.

It is possible, therefore, to imagine information flowing into the interpreter unit of a policeman, each piece having a given value as determined by the machine with all the information (see Figure 4). Because of the policeman's limited memory and lack of knowledge he will interpret the information he receives differently and thus the output to the action selector unit will be different from the input. Theoretically we can define the value of each piece of information received in terms of its p.u.i. rating, using the concept of potential entropy (Willmer, 1966) in order to take into account later decisions of both the criminal and the police. It is to be noted that a machine with all the information can make the most accurate estimate of the probability and entropy involved in contrast to the ordinary policeman. Figure 4 again shows diagrammatically a typical input and output of information, and it can be seen that the limitations of the human mind make the interpreter unit behave in the same way as an interference generator in more typical information flow problems.

The performance of each policeman's interpreter unit will be dependent upon his training, local knowledge, the type of locality in which he is working, etc. If he fails to detect a potentially valuable piece of information, he may well neglect to perform a vital action. Also the performance of the system, *i.e.*, a police force, will depend upon the judgments of its individuals. It is necessary, therefore, for each policeman to be able to detect information which is of importance to his colleagues and to transmit it to them as faithfully as possible. Failure to do so will lead to the system giving a non optimum performance.

To illustrate how the effectiveness of the interpreter unit can affect the performance of the policeman as part of a communication network let us consider a simple example. Because the interpreter unit receives and transmits information which can be measured in terms of p.u.i., the situation is similar to that of general communication theory where the effect of interference in the system is measured by means of its effect upon the rate of actual transmission, R , defined by

$$R = \text{entropy of the input} - \text{the entropy of the input when the output is known}$$

(see Shannon and Weaver, 1947). This equation represents the amount of information transmitted corrected to take into account the amount of this information which is missing in the received signal. Thus, if we assume that the input information can be divided into two groups, viz., a group with a high potential p.u.i. value and a group with a low one where

P = probability that a piece of high p.u.i. value information is received

Q = probability that a piece of low p.u.i. value information is received

p = probability that a piece of high p.u.i. information is interpreted correctly

q = probability that a piece of high p.u.i. information is interpreted wrongly

plus the assumption that a piece of low p.u.i. information is always interpreted correctly (see Figure 5) it can be shown that the rate of actual transmission for such a policeman is given by

$$R = -(P \log_2 P + Q \log_2 Q) + Pq \log_2 \left(\frac{Pq}{Q+Pq} \right) + Q \log_2 \left(\frac{Q}{Q+Pq} \right) \quad (6)$$

This function is plotted against q in Figure 6 for various values of P and Q . From this figure it can be seen that the actual rate of transmission which represents the success of a policeman as a receiver of information gathered during the course of his work is closely dependent upon the probability that the interpreter unit will miss a piece of high p.u.i. information.

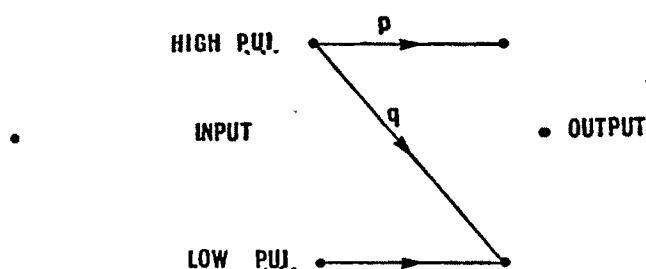


FIGURE 5

Diagram Showing how Input can be Wrongly Interpreted

Successful Policing in Large Urban Conurbations

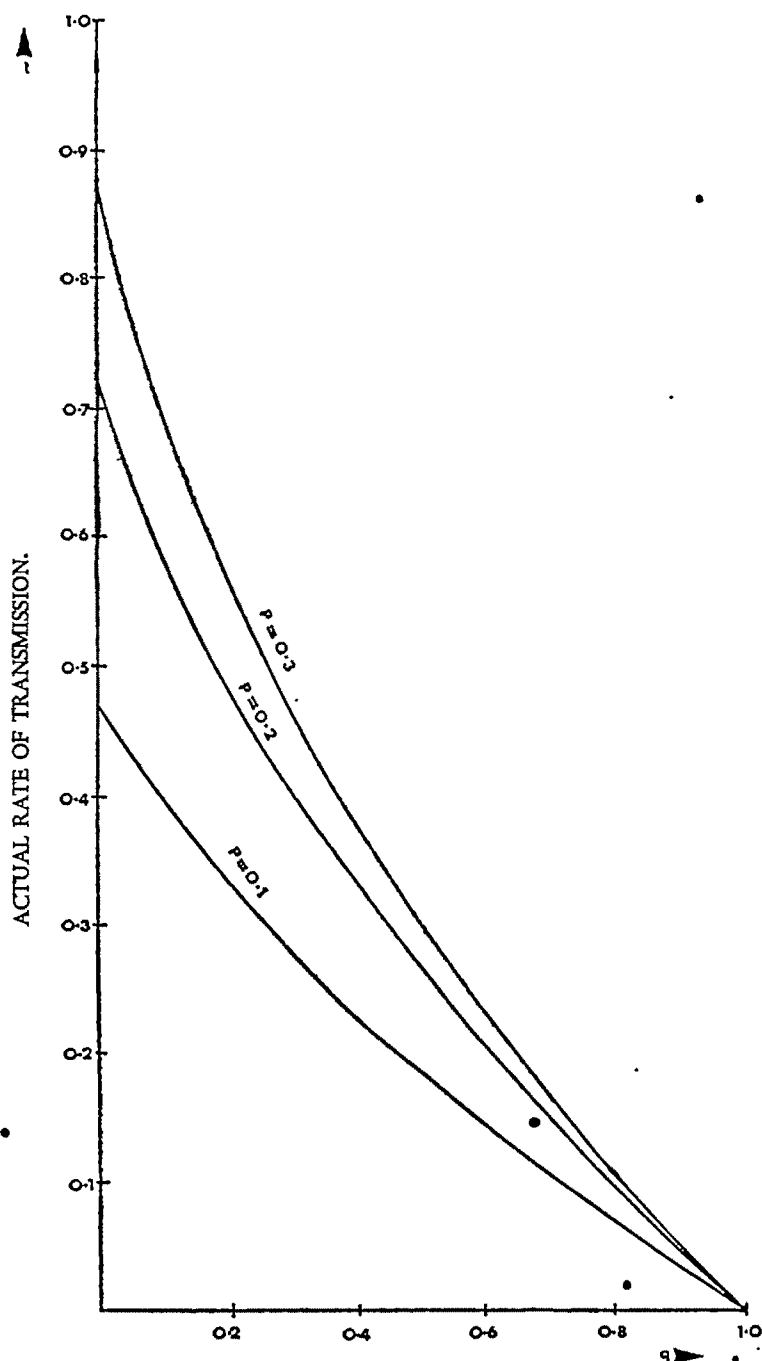
So far in this paper I have shown how the expansion of towns into conurbations can affect both the value of information and the

efficiency of the ordinary policeman as an interpreter of the information which he receives. The police service has not been slow to recognise the trends described above. Indeed, Chief Constables have tried experimentally in many different ways to improve this deteriorating situation both by reorganising the ways in which men are used and the introduction of new equipment.

Perhaps the best example, from our present point of view, is the new system of patrolling called "unit beat policing." The basis of this new concept of patrolling is that the district being policed should be divided into areas each of which is the responsibility of a resident constable. These constables are encouraged to adapt their time and methods to the needs of their area and to ensure that contact with the public is good so that they receive from them as much information as possible. An essential feature of the scheme is the post of "collator," whose job it is to collect, record and disseminate to whomever it concerns all the information gained. It is to this man that the resident constables send information when they receive it. At the same time the district is policed by a mobile patrol and, to enable the resident constable to communicate regularly with his colleagues in the cars, he is provided with a personal radio.

Let us now examine the reasons why it is believed that such a new concept in policing is likely to be more successful than more traditional methods. First let us look at the role of the collator, a role which has no equivalent in more traditional methods of policing. He is the man who receives information from all the resident constables, the mobile patrols where appropriate as well as from the C.I.D. Being in this position he should be able to report any important information which has been missed by his colleagues because all the relevant information was not available to them. Thus, in the terminology of the theory presented in this paper, the probability that a high value piece of information is missed is decreased. Figure 6 shows that this decrease in q leads to an increase in the actual rate of transmission which is a measure of the effectiveness of the police to interpret correctly the information which is received.

Secondly, the collator should be in a better position to advise his C.I.D. colleagues of possible suspects for crimes when they are reported. In other words, he should be able to increase the probability that the group of police suspects will contain the offender responsible for the crime being considered. It can be seen from Figure 2 that, if



PROBABILITY THAT A PIECE OF HIGH P.U.I. INFORMATION IS MISINTERPRETED

FIGURE 6

Variation of the Actual Rate of Transmission with the Probability that a Piece of High P.U.I. Information is Misinterpreted

he can increase this probability to greater than a 10 per cent. chance, he can make a considerable impact on the uncertainty level, H .

Another improvement in police performance in criminal investigation work arises from having resident constables in the police district whose function is to get to know the people who live, work and play in their areas. This is because the knowledge which these resident constables obtain about the people in their areas can increase the value of other items of information obtained either from enquiries at the scenes of crimes or from routine detective work. As an illustration let us consider the case where it is found from enquiries at the scene of crime, like a housebreaking, that the crook wore an unusually coloured scarf. In more traditional methods of policing, where the police have tended to lose contact with the public, this information would only be checked against records of known or suspected criminals. It is unlikely that, in the above case, formal records will be of use and thus the checking of records means essentially the local C.I.D. trying to recall from their own memories the names of those people who wore the type of scarf in question. Because of the nature of detective work such people will nearly always be drawn from the criminal or near criminal elements in the district. However, in the case of unit beat policing, the resident constables will also be consulted and their memories will be able to suggest further possible suspects including some people who, at this stage, are not known criminals. This is especially important today as such a large amount of crime in large cities and conurbations goes undetected. This effect is shown in Figure 3 where introduction of unit beat policing should increase λ , leading to an increase in the value of any item of information of the type under consideration.

In this paper I have described the theoretical grounds for believing that the new concept of unit beat policing will increase the efficiency of police service. I have considered so far only its effect on criminal investigation work. It is also hoped that by making the police more mobile the police service's ability to prevent crime will also be improved. It is interesting to note that some early schemes, like the mobile patrol scheme at Kirby in Lancashire, suggest that increasing the mobility of policemen has a considerable effect in reducing crime.

Now let us turn to the question of computers and ask ourselves how they could be used to improve police performance. Here we can use the experiences of other countries. For example, in Chicago the patrolling officer can find out within minutes whether a car he

sees has been stolen. This ability can increase the probability that a high value piece of information will not be missed leading to an increase in the patrolman's efficiency (see Figure 6). In normal record systems such checks will not be made so frequently because of the effort generally involved.

Again, if computers could be used to assist the fingerprint officer to search a reference collection against a mark left at the scene of crime, much larger collections could be interrogated. At present, because of the shortage of qualified staff, scene-of-crime marks are usually only searched against a small proportion of total prints of criminals held at Criminal Record Offices. In terms of our present terminology the use of computers could lead to an increase in λ thus leading to an increase in the value of a fingerprint when found at the scene of a crime. Work in this direction is at present held up until a sufficiently powerful method of describing a fingerprint suitable for a computer can be found.

Computers could also be used, in theory, to assist the collator to make full use of all the information he receives. Not only can they be used to increase the probability that the collator will not miss a high value piece of information but also they can be used to enable collators to work on data pooled from many areas. In this way it is to be hoped that information of regional or national importance will not be missed. It is to be remembered that such items of value could remain undetected if each collator had available to him only information from his own area.

In this paper I have shown how the growth of villages and small towns into large conurbations affects the problems associated with criminal investigation work. I have described briefly a series of experiments being conducted by the police in an effort to overcome these effects and I have shown that these experiments have a sensible theoretical basis. When the results of these experiments are analysed, we shall know the extent to which the police can overcome the hurdles presented by an expanding community.

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THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITY IN A CORRECTIONAL ESTABLISHMENT

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In January 1962, the California State Department of Corrections initiated a unique programme for rehabilitating narcotics offenders. In conjunction with the National Institutes of Mental Health a Halfway House opened its doors to felon parolees with a history of narcotics use. This was an experimental programme designed to assess the rehabilitative effectiveness of a community treatment centre, with a therapeutic community orientation, built into a correlational system. This two-year programme was accompanied by an experimental-control research designed as a means of assessing its effectiveness.¹

Subjects were received at Halfway House as their prison terms expired, at a rate of approximately six per month. The study group was predominantly Mexican-American, with low levels of education, few job skills, and extensive histories of drug use. Experimental subjects spent varying amounts of time at Halfway House, the requirement to do so being a mandatory condition of parole. Most of the residents were in their late twenties and early thirties.

Comparative findings covering seventeen months of the study reveal that the success rate for controls was considerably greater than for experimentals. Of the 186 subjects in the study, 42.5 per cent. returned to illegal use of narcotics. This was a total of seventy-nine persons, forty-five of whom were experimental and thirty-four controls. Of the ninety-five experimentals, 47.4 per cent. returned to illegal use of drugs, whereas 37.3 per cent. of the ninety-one controls returned to use.

One of the important reasons for failure of this experiment has to do with the rather conspicuous absence of certain ingredients traditionally viewed as generic to an effective treatment process. I shall briefly identify these ingredients, indicate certain social conditions

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¹ Experimental and control subjects were randomly selected from a prison population of men with histories of narcotics use whose parole placements were in a selected area of a large city. For further discussion of method and social characteristics of the group see Fisher (1965).

responsible for their absence, and suggest a sociological framework for viewing staff-inmate relations in the prison.

The treatment model which Halfway House officials attempted to implement was that of a therapeutic community. This model has been put into operation in the hospital setting and extensively publicised by Maxwell Jones. Each resident was required to attend regularly scheduled group meetings each weekday and, for those not working in the community, two group meetings were sometimes required. The meetings were run by parole agents whose formal training uniformly included some college, and some group counselling while employed by the Department of Corrections. On the other hand most of the individuals who conducted the group meetings had no special professional training for this work.

There are two important ways in which the traditional view of treatment and the model of it used at Halfway House differ. Traditionally, treatment has presumed initiative in, and acceptance of, the treatment process by those being treated. Freud (1920, p. 387) has suggested that this involvement stems from the nature of the relationship between those being treated and those formally conducting the treatment process. (See also Rieff, 1959, pp. 169-170.)

Jones (1956) affirms this view in writings on the mental hospital: "Applied to the psychiatric hospital, the term 'therapeutic community' implies that the responsibility for treatment is not confined to the trained medical staff but is a concern also of the other community members, i.e., the patients." More recently he has written: "The fact is, of course, that there is, as yet, no one model of a therapeutic community and all that is intended is that it should mobilise the interests, skills, and enthusiasm of staff and patients and give them sufficient freedom of action to create their own optimal treatment and living conditions." (Jones, 1964, p. 73.)

Certainly many persons become engaged in the treatment process with an initial reluctance and an ambivalence about its relevance to them. If, during the process, they fail to overcome this reluctance and doubts about its usefulness and relevance remain, rather severe limitations are thereby placed on its potential effectiveness. This condition would represent an absence of what Freud referred to as a positive transference or an investment of libido. Its consequence for treatment would be to engender an avoidance of those experiences and recollections which are personally painful, humiliating, derogatory, and shameful. Without consideration of these experiences, however,

the effectiveness of the treatment, given our conception of it, is likely to be minimal.

A second necessary condition for treatment effectiveness is freedom of expression. This treatment imperative is also affirmed by Jones (1956): "A community meeting epitomizes the function of a therapeutic community. The aim is to achieve the freest possible expression of feeling by both patients and staff." Severe restraint of freedom of expression in treatment has essentially the same effect as lack of involvement. It necessitates exemption of selected areas of experience from publicity and analytic scrutiny. This effect is independent of the source of restraint on freedom of expression, *e.g.*, physical incapacity of patients, personal inclination of patients, agency or organisational proscriptions.

Attachment of the "patient" to the treatment process, which I refer to as legitimacy, and freedom of expression, then, are among the basic obligations which a therapeutic community programme must assume. Their absence severely thwarts the free association of ideas and the serious assessment of experience which typically characterise the treatment process.

Social interaction in group sessions at Halfway House clearly indicated that these basic conditions of an effective treatment process were not realised during the seventeen months of operation of the programme covered in this report. Residents never accepted the responsibility for participation in the treatment process at Halfway House according to these traditional rules of the game. Their failure to do so was in spite of persistent efforts by staff first to encourage and later to coerce resident involvement.

A persistent tactic by staff in group sessions was to stress to the group that each resident is responsible to every other. Return to narcotics use, to prison, etc., by any group member was said by staff to be the fault of the group not helping the deviant individual. In the routines of everyday life at Halfway House this meant, according to staff, that when a resident was known by others to be "slipping" the matter should be taken up by the group so that its therapeutic work might alter his fate. Residents repeatedly voiced several objections which help to explain their failure to accept this major obligation of the treatment process.

One objection was that the requirement was exactly the opposite of what they are repeatedly told and required to do in

"the joint." Not interfering in the affairs of another is a time-honoured norm in prison which is supported among inmates and sanctioned by prison officials. The sudden requirement to shift to a different point of view on this matter was felt by many to be too drastic a change to expect.

In addition, the resident group continually stressed to staff the "trouble" brought on an individual who attempted to actualise this official expectation. The argument runs like this. Suppose a Halfway House resident walked into the toilet and observed another resident in the act of "fixing." Suppose also the innocent resident approached the other and proceeded to dissuade him from going through with the act. Suppose, further, that while doing so a law enforcement official happened to come upon the scene. Residents pointed out that this would necessarily mean arrest for both parties and probably return to prison. The general conclusion was that it is safer to abandon the approach which therapeutic imperatives suggest.

There were also objections raised by residents which explain their reluctance to express themselves freely. During several group sessions residents questioned staff regarding the consequences to a resident who took this line of reasoning seriously and revealed in the group that he was, for example, using narcotic drugs. In the course of repeated discussion of this matter, with some contradictory impressions being given by different staff members, it became clear to the group that staff are officially bound to take such residents into custody. This was in fact a legal mandate to staff, and a major restraint on freedom of expression by residents.

The restraint imposed by this reality of social organisation was frequently reflected in the repeated resident response of: "I've got to live with these guys day to day." This means therefore that it is impossible to bring out in the presence of law enforcement officials information about another resident which might lead to serious punitive action. To do so would drastically change relationship patterns among residents. It would generate such animosity, hatred and violence among residents that sustaining a reasonably safe common life would be impossible. Rather than "fink" or interfere too much, it was reasoned among residents that a safer course of conduct would be to "do your own time."

The negative impact on the programme of the official restraint on free expression eventually became clear to staff, as well as the

difficulty of altering it. The official commitment to non-confidentiality of information revealed in the treatment process, a major restraining factor, is clearly expressed in the following excerpt from an extensive tape-recorded interview with a high Halfway House official.

Interviewer: "In other words, if an agent wanted he could take the material that a guy brings forth in a meeting . . . and build it into evaluation of the man as a parolee?"

Interviewee: ". . . if this is information that the agent wants to evaluate the men, yes. We are primarily parole agents. Yes, first we are parole agents who do the counselling. And if something comes up in the group that alerts this agent of possible danger to society, to others, to himself, he is going to act, certainly. The agents are professional. They want to know as much about the man as they can—understand his problems, be able to help him, be able to protect society and all this. Now, what we would hope to happen is that the group operating over a period of time would feel as a group and be sufficiently comfortable in there. Then staff wouldn't feel called upon to have to defend their decisions or point of view because this is going to come from other members. This hasn't happened yet. The information and knowledge that staff are getting from each one of those members who were there, certainly they want it, and will use it and it will probably affect decisions that they will make about the men in the future."

It is apparent that the social situation created in the Halfway House did not permit realisation of what had been suggested as basic social conditions implicit in the treatment process. Rather than active engagement in a helping process, the residents generally saw the Halfway House experience as an unjust, coercive manipulation of them. Instead of attaching themselves to the treatment process, they sought to escape and to defy it openly. Nor did residents freely express themselves. They resorted to various tactics designed to assure that information revealed in group discussions did not endanger them. These tactics included many hours of silence, utilisation of group time to give detailed elaboration of untrue or irrelevant events or circumstances (called taking the group on a trip), etc.

Staff showed concern over the constant violation of Halfway House rules and over the refusal of residents to accept their "responsibilities" in the programme. This concern led to a "tightening up" on residents. As the Halfway House programme moved toward increased restrictions on residents and more stringent enforcement practices, this movement was accompanied by official reasons which explained the

movement as necessary, and which, in addition, claimed it to be therapeutic.

The staff claim of therapeutic effectiveness for what are essentially custodial measures is a reflection of a growing tendency in the correctional field to emphasise treatment and rehabilitation, rather than custody and punishment as correctional goals. This approach challenges the conventional view of crime as a wrong for which punishment is a just reward with the view of crime as sickness for which treatment is the appropriate remedy. Empey and Rabow (1961) have described in some detail the treatment model which was most influential on staff thinking at Halfway House. They suggest that treatment means the build-up of a system of social relations the norms of which are jointly shared and supported by officials and delinquents alike. Notably, negative sanctioning in their system is seen as most effective if left to the peer group. As they put it: "A treatment system will be most effective if the delinquent peer group is used as the means of perpetuating the norms and imposing the sanctions of the system. The peer group should also be seen by delinquents as the primary source of help and support."

The emphasis in this model is on the manipulative use of sanctions as the primary means for promoting conforming behaviour. The authors consider delinquents to be involved in the values of conventional society, though ambivalent about them. Rehabilitation programmes, then, must be designed to clarify the distinction between conventional and delinquent behavioural alternatives, and create a social situation in which the delinquents are "forced" to deal with the conflict between them. In their words: "Delinquent ambivalence for purposes of rehabilitation can only be utilized in a setting conducive to the free expression of feelings, both delinquent and conventional. This means that the protection and rewards provided by the treatment system for candor must exceed those provided either by delinquents for adherence to delinquent roles or by officials for adherence to custodial demands for 'good behavior'." It is precisely the element of candour which custodial establishments inhibit among inmates because to be candid may reveal behaviours which themselves are punishable by law.

While this treatment approach shares some ingredients with traditional efforts, one important difference is cited by the authors themselves: "The traditional psychotherapeutic emphasis upon transference relationships is not viewed as the most vital factor in effecting

change." The traditional approach to treatment emphasises positive transference as a major necessary element whereas the Empey-Rabow model does not. This departure is a crucial feature of the latter model because it leaves unspecified the question of means by which treatment conditions are to be achieved. It was precisely the effort to build the kind of sanctions system suggested by Empey and Rabow which led to the crystallisation of hostility and antagonism between staff and residents at Halfway House. The absence of a requirement for positive transference, which in the traditional approach to treatment is the means for achieving and sustaining active participation and legitimacy, makes coercion and voluntarism equally applicable means for building an effective treatment system. The coercive tactics adopted by the staff at Halfway House, which appeared to result naturally from residents' failure to comply with the official normative expectations, did not achieve this goal. Staff then resorted to various penalties which took the form of limitations on privileges of various kinds, jail, etc. The result of these tactics, however, was not to build up a normative system jointly shared by staff and inmates. Rather, they increased resident solidarity, and greatly increased the social distance between staff and residents.

The therapeutic community treatment model and that of Empey and Rabow both emphasise freedom of expression and acceptance of the legitimacy of the treatment process by those being treated, but these conditions seem to emerge in essentially different ways.

At Halfway House, freedom of expression and candour did not emerge although efforts were made to promote them by a militant system of negative sanctions. According to the traditional view of treatment, these elements must emerge voluntarily as a result of a non-threatening treatment situation and of a general recognition of the importance of the treatment process. At Halfway House, legitimacy of the treatment effort did not emerge although efforts were made to promote it by applying negative sanctions against those whose actions persistently denied it. The traditional view of treatment stresses legitimacy as voluntary recognition of the need for the kind of involvement which the treatment process requires.

Being a unit of a correctional system, the Halfway House could not reasonably be expected to permit the kind of freedom of expression which treatment in the traditional sense requires. Treatment personnel in such systems are first and foremost law enforcement officials. Effective execution of the law enforcement mandate requires the

imposition of negative sanctions when certain kinds of unconventional actions and expressions among subject individuals appear. This is essentially a punitive process, which helps to explain the affinity of the Halfway House programme for the treatment model suggested by Empey and Rabow. By use of this approach punitive practices come to be viewed as treatment. Thus, the role conflict which is inherent in the contradictory demands made on staff, that is to be both an agent of treatment and of custody, is more readily resolved.

A sociological approach to treatment, which is more closely aligned to traditional treatment imperatives, has been formulated by Shibutani. He has suggested that loyalty to a point of view, or perspective, is a function of interpersonal relations. Close, primary-like relations with others who share a given perspective, according to this view, make the norms which meet with their approval increasingly binding on individual conduct. Such persons become "significant others" and as long as our relations with them are positive we are predisposed to loyalty to the norms which meet with their approval. On the other hand, we are prone to violation of the norms of those significant others with whom we have developed disjunctive impersonal ties.²

The persistent failure of Halfway House residents to view the staff and programme as providing for them a needed and helpful social experience does indeed indicate the failure of development of a positive identification between staff and residents. However, this failure must itself be seen as reflecting a sociologically distinctive kind of relationship of a more general nature. It indicates the crystallisation of a fundamental disagreement between the rulers (staff) and the ruled (residents) regarding the legitimacy of the rules and of those who rule. It means, in effect, institutionalisation of power as a basis for rule, which may be viewed as a polar opposite of rule by *authority*.³

Under rule by authority, the rulers and the ruled substantially

² Notably, a crucial ingredient of this approach is precisely the element which Empey and Rabow consider insignificant. The theory of sentiments stresses the importance of certain kinds of interpersonal ties between individuals as a crucial factor in loyalty to given norms. Empey and Rabow emphasise the necessity of making clear to those expected to conform what the normative expectations are and of "dealing with" indecision or ambivalence about them. Over time this procedure is presumed to lead to the development of a culture in which the desirable expectations, originally enforced, become voluntary and normative. As noted above, this expected outcome did not materialise at Halfway House. For a systematic presentation of this approach, see Shibutani (1962).

³ My use of the concepts of power and authority follow that suggested by Christian Bay (1958, pp. 19-21). Power refers "... to the individual's degree of control over his security." Security has to do with the probability of enjoyment of other values. Authority, he states, is the quality by virtue of which directives are obeyed independently of external sanctions.

agree that the rules and rulers are just and fair, and subject individuals willingly accept the obligation to meet the demands made upon them. This is, in essence, rule by consent of the ruled. As power replaces authority as a basis for rule over subordinates, the dominant motive for meeting the demands of those who rule is fear of negative sanction for failure to do so.

The formulation by Shibutani allows for conceptualisation of treatment phenomena in sociologically relevant terms, and the application of the power-authority consideration reminds us of the inter-dependence of social process and social structure. A degree of co-variation is suggested by the data which may be expressed in propositional form:

A power-based relationship between a superordinate over a subordinate group is characterised by fewer bonds of solidarity and co-operative transactions between the two groups than when such rule is based on authority.

Each of these alternative formal arrangements I take to be associated with distinctive patterns of informal social relations and interaction process. One would expect not only systematic variation of social relations and interaction process *between* the two groups, but also systematic variation *within* each group.

In addition to these more generic sociological concerns, this formulation has a special bearing on traditional sociological explanations of the failure of treatment efforts in correctional establishments. A widely held view is that the difficulty is due to the corrosive effect of the treatment imperative on staff-inmate relations. This imperative, according to Sykes (1956) leads to a "corruption of authority." Authority, as used here, has seldom been the sociological base for relations between officials and inmates in correctional settings. The kind of legitimacy which rule by authority implies is atypical of correctional establishments. The tensions which appear in staff-inmate relations, and are blatantly apparent in "treatment" efforts, I would interpret as part of a movement to establish precisely that framework of relatedness which Sykes contends is being corrupted. In correctional settings traditional patterns of power-based rule are being corrupted by insurgent treatment forces. The custodial orientation is being confronted by demands from the treatment viewpoint to expose irrational punitive practices to open discussion in "group counselling" sessions, which include both super- and subordinates. Institutionalisation of this kind of communication network

leads to tensions for change in older patterns of rule by power. The fact that this movement is chronically frustrated is a reflection of the inherent limits of tolerance of this kind of social establishment for, and its inherent incompatibility with, treatment requirements.

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CURRENT SURVEY

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

ABSCONDING AND ADJUSTMENT TO THE TRAINING SCHOOL

R. V. G. CLARKE *

Introduction

MOST boys committed to approved school are admitted to the regional classifying school for assessment, before being sent to their training schools. The classifying school's assessment includes some estimate of the boy's likelihood of adjusting favourably to approved school training. This estimate is based on the clinical experience of the assessment team.

The object of the present research was to furnish objective data that would be useful in estimating a boy's likelihood of adjusting favourably to approved school training. The criteria of poor training school adjustment used in this study were: (a) absconding from the training school,¹ and (b) recommittal or transfer to some other agency or institution (*e.g.*, another approved school, borstal, detention centre) during training.

Two factors known at classification were thought to be highly predictive of poor training school adjustment (as defined). These were, a record of absconding from remand home or classifying school, and a history of previous approved school training. The results of two previous studies (Dept. of Justice, New Zealand, 1961; Brierley and Jones, unpublished) have suggested that, in general, individuals who abscond from one institution will also abscond from another. In the New Zealand study, it was found that absconders from prisons and borstals were more likely to have a history of absconding from other types of institutional custody than non-absconders, and in Brierley and Jones's study, undertaken in an approved school, a similar result was obtained.

A history of previous approved school training was expected to be predictive of poor training school adjustment, because boys who have already failed in one school or failed to settle in the community following training are less likely to settle in another approved school. There are no available statistics in support of this expectation, but it is consistent with what is known about recidivism in general.

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¹ In this research, "absconding" was defined as any unauthorised absence (from remand home or approved school) irrespective of duration.

Subjects and Procedure

All 822 boys who were routine disposals to the training schools from Kingswood Classifying School in 1963 were followed up in their training schools.² Of the 822, 372 (45.2 per cent.) were allocated between thirteen senior training schools, 303 (36.9 per cent.) between nine intermediate schools, and 147 (17.9 per cent.) between twelve junior schools. The follow-up yielded information on two criteria of training school adjustment: absconding from training school and circumstances of leaving the training school. (A third criterion, the time spent in training school, did not provide additional useful information.) These criteria of adjustment were related to two factors known as classification: a record of absconding from remand home or classifying school, and a history of previous approved school training.

Of the 822 boys, 86 (10.5 per cent.) absconded from Kingswood. Kingswood Classifying School is open, and the boys normally remain in the school for about three weeks.

Of the 822 boys, 800 had been in remand homes immediately prior to classifying school admission. As at least thirteen remand homes were involved, it was beyond the resources available to discover which boys of the whole sample absconded from remand home. Therefore a sub-sample of 497 boys (62 per cent. of the 800) was selected on an arbitrary basis: the 497 were all the boys who had been in one of seven large remand homes which could conveniently be visited by the research worker. This sub-sample was fairly representative of the total group of remand home attenders, at least on the variables of age and the training schools in which they were placed. Of the 497 boys 45 (9.1 per cent.) absconded at least once from remand home.³ Remand home absconding may have been slightly under-recorded because some remand homes did not keep separate absconding records, and the information was abstracted by the research worker from the daily log.

Of the 822 disposals, 89 (10.8 per cent.) had previously been admitted to Kingswood Classifying School, most as a result of an earlier committal, and had already had a period of approved school training. These boys were designated *approved school recidivists*. One or two boys who had previously been to approved school but who had not been through Kingswood might have missed.

Absconding from the Training School

Absconding was used as a criterion of poor training school adjustment because it is much discouraged and often heavily punished by schools. This is because absconders usually commit further offences which may result in the offender being recommitted to borstal or detention centre and which may seriously

² Kingswood Classifying School serves the south-west of the country, an area extending northwards to Birmingham, and eastwards to Hampshire and Oxfordshire. During 1963 apart from the 822 routine disposals a further 28 boys were disposed of to other classifying schools, to borstal, etc.

³ Absconding rates for the remand homes and Kingswood Classifying School cannot be directly compared. Among the reasons for this are that security conditions in the remand homes and Kingswood are not the same (remand homes range from open to secure), and the time at risk for absconding is not the same.

inconvenience the public. Further, absconding is disruptive of school discipline and routine.⁴

At the end of June and December each approved school in England and Wales makes a six-monthly *Return of Abscondings and Boundbreakings* to the Home Office. The boys who have broken bounds or absconded in the period are listed, together with the number of occurrences. These returns were used in the present study and they were examined by the writer for all the schools concerned from June 30, 1963 to December 31, 1965 inclusive. As stated previously, in this study boundbreakings were not differentiated from abscondings. The training school absconders were divided into persistent and non-persistent absconders; there is no agreed definition of a persistent absconder from training school, although it has been thought necessary to make this distinction (Association of Headmasters, Headmistresses and Matrons of Approved Schools, 1952). Gunasekara (1963) defined a persistent training school absconder as "one who had (i) absconded five times or more (ii) with an interval between the first and the last abscondings of six months or more." This definition was not used in the present study because it would have excluded a number of boys who remained in the school for less than six months, but who nevertheless absconded several times. It is likely that these boys remained a short time in the schools partly because they were absconding so frequently. Most of the absconders that Gunasekara's definition would have excluded were senior boys, and for many of these there was a closed alternative available in borstal. A further reason for not using Gunasekara's definition was that it was thought desirable to relate the number of abscondings made by a boy to the time at risk. A boy who absconds five times in six months is probably even more poorly adjusted to training school than one who absconds five times in three years. The length of time that each boy was in his school was obtained by the writer from the Home Office Approved School Index.

Therefore for the purposes of this study, *persistent absconders were defined as those boys who had absconded at least once for each three months they were in the school, and also absconded at least twice. The non-persistent absconders were defined as those boys who absconded at least once but who were not persistent absconders (as defined above).*

In the sample of 822 boys, 318 (38.7 per cent.) absconded at least once in the training school.⁵ Of the 318, 46 (5.6 per cent. of the 822) were persistent absconders, and 272 (33.1 per cent. of the 822) were non-persistent absconders. The mean number of abscondings for the persistent absconders was 5.8 with a range of 2 to 25, and for the non-persistent absconders the mean was 2.0 with a range of 1 to 10.

Circumstances of leaving training school

The circumstances of leaving training school are basic criteria of adjustment to training school and have been used previously (e.g., Laulicht, 1963).

⁴ It is worth noting, however, that the *absence* of absconding need not always be a good sign. In certain boys it may indicate passive conformity rather than active participation in training.

⁵ Of the 318, 49 had broken bounds only.

For if a boy leaves training school, for example, as a result of being recommitted to approved school or borstal, he has almost certainly not responded well to the training situation, whereas a boy released on supervision has generally responded adequately.

Information concerning the date and circumstances of leaving training school for each of the 822 boys was obtained from the Approved School Index, which was up to date until March 31, 1966. This gave a training school follow-up of $2\frac{1}{4}$ – $3\frac{1}{4}$ years. On March 31, 1966, a number of the boys were still in their training schools. Also some of the boys had been released on more than one occasion, but had been recalled after earlier releases. The data used in this study do not concern these earlier releases, but refer to the release status on March 31, 1966.

The circumstances of leaving training school were classified into two main categories, "Released normally" and "Broke down during training." The sub-groups included under these two main categories and the number of boys in each sub-group are given as follows:

Sub-groups		Main category	
Still in school (inc. boys on recall)	— 88 boys	Released normally	— 708 boys
Released under supervision	— 620 boys		
Transferred or recommitted to approved school	— 34 boys		
Transferred or committed to borstal	— 63 boys	Broke down during training	— 114 boys
All other (probation detention, mental hospital, etc.)	— 17 boys		

Certain aspects of this classification of leaving training school could be criticised. For example, if a boy commits an offence while on supervision and it is thought that further training in approved school is necessary, chance factors play a large part in deciding whether he is recalled or recommitted. However, the classification as a whole appears meaningful in the light of the results.

Some estimate of the representativeness of the Kingswood sample for all departures from boys' approved schools, can be made from examining Table 7 of the *Statistics relating to approved schools, remand homes and attendance centres in England and Wales for the year 1964* (H.M.S.O., 1965), which gives the circumstances of departure from all boys' approved schools in 1964. There it can be seen that 91.4 per cent. of all departures were released under supervision, 6.1 per cent. were sent to borstal, and 2.5 per cent. were all other departures. Transfers and recommitments to approved school were not classified as departures. It can be seen from the classification above that, not including the 122 boys of the Kingswood sample who were still in school or who had been transferred or recommitted to approved school, 88.6 per cent. of the boys departing were released on supervision, 9.0 per cent. were sent to borstal, and 2.4 per cent. were all other departures.

It is not possible to draw firm conclusions from these figures about the representativeness of the Kingswood sample for all releases from boys' approved schools in England and Wales. Some of the reasons for this are that the basic units of the Kingswood data are *boys* and not *departures* as in the total sample; the time of the departures is not the same; and comparison concerning such factors as age distribution has not been made. However, it appears that releases obtained by the Kingswood boys are typical of releases from all boys' approved schools, with the possible exception that the Kingswood boys are more frequently sent to borstal.

It is important to remember that the information in this section is not up to date *recidivism* information until March 3, 1966. The information refers only to *circumstances of leaving* training school. For example, probably many more boys in the sample than the 63 recorded here were in borstal on March 3, 1966, having failed during the supervision period.

The Results

1. Absconding from the training school

Table 1 shows for various categories of boys the numbers that absconded persistently and non-persistently in the training school. It can be seen from Table 1 that classifying school absconders, remand home absconders, and boys who have previously been to approved school, are all more likely to be training school absconders (particularly persistent training school absconders) than the group of boys who had not absconded from classifying school and who had not previously been to approved school.

TABLE 1

	Classifying school absconders		Remand home absconders		Approved school recidivists		Neither classifying absconders nor recidivists	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-absconders in training school	25	29.1	18	40.0	40	44.9	443	66.7
Non-persistent training school absconders	44	51.1	23	51.1	36	40.5	200	30.1
Persistent training school absconders	17	19.8	4	8.9	13	14.6	21	3.2
	86	100.0	45	100.0	89	100.0	664	100.0

N.B. Information concerning remand home absconding was only available for 497 boys. For all other items, information was available for all 822 boys.

The association between classifying school absconding and training school absconding was significant at 0.1 per cent. ($\chi^2 = 60.24$, 2 d.f.; $N = 822$) and between previous approved school training and training school absconding was also significant at 0.1 per cent. ($\chi^2 = 20.48$, 2 d.f.; $N = 822$). The association between remand home absconding and training school absconding was considerably weaker ($\chi^2 = 8.16$, significant at 5.0 per cent., 2 d.f.; $N = 497$).

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2. Circumstances of leaving training school

Table 2 shows for the various categories of boys the numbers who were released normally and who broke down during training. It can be seen from Table 2 that classifying school absconders and boys who have previously been to approved school are much more likely to break down during training than the group of boys who had not absconded from classifying school and who had not previously been to approved school.

TABLE 2

	Classifying school absconders		Remand home absconders		Approved school recidivists		Neither classifying absconders nor recidivists	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Released normally	51	59.3	37	82.2	55	61.8	612	92.2
Broke down during training	35	40.7	8	17.8	34	38.2	52	7.8
	86	100.0	45	100.0	89	100.0	664	100.0

N.B. Information for remand home absconding was only available for 497 boys. For all other items, information was available for all 822 boys.

The association between classifying school absconding and break down during training was significant at 0.1 per cent. (χ^2 with Yates's correction = 55.40, 1 d.f., N = 822), and between previous approved school training and break down during training was also significant at 0.1 per cent. (χ^2 with Yates's correction = 47.27, 1 d.f., N = 822). There was no association between remand home absconding and circumstances of leaving training school (χ^2 with Yates's correction = 0.23, 1 d.f., N = 497).

It can be seen from Table 3 that the association between absconding in the classifying school and breakdown during training is mainly explicable on the grounds that classifying school absconders in general continue to abscond in the training school and therefore get into further trouble.

TABLE 3

	Neither classifying nor training school absconder	Both classifying and training school absconder	Absconder only from classifying school	Absconder only from training school	Totals
Released normally	467	28	23	190	708
Broke down during training	12	33	2	67	114
	479	61	25	257	822

$\chi^2 = 167.18$, significant at 0.1 per cent., 3 d.f.

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From Table 3 it can be seen that most classifying school absconders (23 out of 25) who did not continue to abscond in the training school were released normally, whereas the majority (33 out of 61) who did continue broke down during training.

There is a similar explanation for the association between previous approved school training and breakdown during training. From Table 4 it can be seen that most approved school recidivists (35 out of 40) who did not abscond in the training school were released normally, whereas the majority (29 out of 49) who did broke down during training.

TABLE 4

	Neither recidivist nor training school absconder	Both recidivist and training school absconder	Recidivist but not training school absconder	Training school absconder but not recidivist	Totals
Released normally	455	20	35	198	708
Broke down during training	<u>9</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>114</u>
	464	49	40	269	822

$$\chi^2 = 174.9, \text{ significant at } 0.1 \text{ per cent., } 3 \text{ d.f.}$$

This suggests that the two criteria of adjustment to training, namely absconding from training school and circumstances of leaving training school, are closely related. This is confirmed by the figures in Table 5. There it can be seen that nearly all (89.1 per cent.) the persistent training school absconders broke down during training, whereas this happened to only 2.8 per cent. of the non-absconders. (However, it cannot be said that the two criteria of adjustment are virtually identical because almost three times as many boys absconded from training school as broke down during training.)

TABLE 5

	Non-absconders in training school	Non-persistent training school absconders	Persistent training school absconders	Totals
Released normally	490	213	5	708
Broke down during training	<u>14</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>114</u>
	504	272	46	822

$$\chi^2 = 283.96, \text{ significant at } 0.1 \text{ per cent., } 2 \text{ d.f.}$$

Summary of Results

(1) Boys with a record of absconding from classifying school or remand home or who had previously been to approved school are much more likely to be absconders (especially persistent absconders) from the training schools.

(2) Absconders from the training school, especially persistent absconders, are much more likely than non-absconders to break down during training. That is to say, on leaving the training school boys who have been absconders are much more likely to be sent to another approved school or to borstal, detention centre, etc. When a boy who has not absconded from training school leaves, he is much more likely to obtain a normal release on supervision.

(3) Because absconding from the training school is very strongly associated with breakdown during training, absconding from the classifying school and a history of previous approved school training are also associated with breakdown during training.

(4) Remand home absconding is not indicative of breakdown during training. This is because remand home absconding is only weakly related to training school absconding.

Discussion

(1) It has been shown in this study that two objective factors known at classification, *i.e.*, the occurrence of classifying school absconding and a history of previous approved school training, are highly correlated with absconding from training school, and therefore with breakdown during training. If a prediction formula for training school response were to be developed, information on these two items should be included. The predictive power of these two items together is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

	Neither classifying school absconder nor approved school recidivist	Either classifying school absconder or approved school recidivist	All boys
	N	N	N
Released normally	612	96	708
Broke down during training	52 664	62 158	114 822

It can be seen from Table 6 that 62 (54.4 per cent.) of 114 boys who broke down during training either absconded from the classifying school or had previously been through approved school.

(2) The results of this study also showed in agreement with previous findings, that most boys who abscond from one institution generally will abscond from another. However, a minority of the present sample of boys who absconded from classifying school did not subsequently abscond from training school. As a consequence of this finding, a study was undertaken in an attempt to identify other factors known at classification which might differentiate the classifying school absconders who continue to abscond from those who do not.

Each of the 156 absconders from Kingswood Classifying School during 1962 and 1963 were followed up in their training schools by means of the absconding and boundbreaking returns made to the Home Office Approved School Index for between $2\frac{1}{4}$ and $3\frac{1}{4}$ years.* On the basis of this information the boys were divided into three groups using the previous definitions: non-absconders ($N = 43$), non-persistent absconders ($N = 83$) and persistent absconders ($N = 30$). The three groups were compared on 25 factors concerning personal characteristics, home background, delinquent and psychiatric histories, and characteristics of classifying school absconding (see Appendix for complete list). All factors were closely defined and objectively assessed. All differences between groups were tested for significance, but only one variable differentiated the three groups at or beyond the 5 per cent. level. This was the *persistence* of classifying school absconding. Five (11.6 per cent.) of the non-absconders, ten (12.1 per cent.) of the non-persistent absconders, and thirteen (43.3 per cent.) of the persistent training school absconders had absconded more than once from the classifying school.

This result, together with the findings of the main study reported, suggests that the extent of previous absconding (from any type of custodial residential setting) is a most powerful predictor of training school absconding. It would seem that a receiving institution should be furnished with full information concerning previous absconding and previous residential placements. Remand homes should supply the information to the classifying schools, the classifying schools to the training schools, and the training schools to the borstals. This is already frequently done, but it should be done as standard procedure.

(3) The findings raise the question whether boys who are identified as persistent absconders at classification, or who have already failed through absconding, should be considered at an earlier stage than is usual at present for approved school training in secure conditions. Answers to this question would be governed, in part, by availability of places. Of approximately 8,000 places in boy's approved schools, only 80 (1 per cent.) are in the three closed units. An extension of approved school closed provision would be seen as retrogressive by many in the child care world, but it may be that a larger proportion of approved school boys than has been recognised hitherto require training in secure conditions. In this study it was shown that 46 (5.6 per cent.) of a year's intake to one classifying school became persistent training school absconders and of these 41 were recommitted or transferred (mainly to borstal or to another approved school) while they were at training school. These boys might have profited by being kept in secure (or semi-secure) schools. Then, at least, there might have been a chance of attacking the problems underlying their behaviour.

This discussion raises the broader issue of whether it is desirable, or even possible, to train for freedom in conditions of security. This is a perennial subject of debate, but there is little relevant research. Mannheim and Wilkins (1955) suggested that when statistical correction had been made for the fact that better risks are sent to open borstal, borstal lads who were trained under

* The method was as in the main study. Two absconders routinely allocated to training schools in 1962, were not included as their files could not be traced.

open conditions were more successful than those trained under closed conditions. However, Cockett (1967), in a recent study, suggested that Mannheim and Wilkins failed to take into account certain subjectively assessed features of inmate quality which are taken into account when allocations are made. Differences between the groups allocated to open and closed borstals in these quality features may offer an alternative explanation for the Mannheim and Wilkins result. Further research on the question is necessary and an attempt is being made by the approved school closed units to identify boys who respond favourably to training under closed conditions.

(4) A further question raised by the results is whether absconding and recidivism are both parts of the same delinquent process and whether as Lloyd (1964) conjectures, "absconding in a boy does point to his possessing . . . certain characteristics which preclude his making a success of life." Previous studies have found a strong correlation between absconding during custodial training and later recidivism (Mannheim and Wilkins, *op. cit.*; Wilkins, unpublished, cf. Chernuchin, 1957). However, Mannheim and Wilkins also found that, "although absconding was associated with a higher failure rate, absconding was not associated with those factors which were more directly associated with failure." This is a topic that requires further research. As a contribution, the present study could be extended to include data on reconvictions during a three-year post-release follow-up.

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APPENDIX

*The 25 variables used in the comparison of training school non-absconders
non-persistent, and persistent absconders*

I *Personal characteristics*

- (1) Age group (senior/intermediate/junior)
- (2) Intelligence (Wechsler or Binet I.Q.)
- (3) Reading age (Burt Rearranged Word Reading Test)
- (4) Height
- (5) Weight

II. *Home background*

- (6) Broken home
- (7) Socio-economic class (based on Registrar-General's system)
- (8) Parental visits to approved school

III. *Psychiatric history*

- (9) Number psychiatric referrals
- (10) Diagnosis of psychopathy
- (11) Enuresis
- (12) Truancy
- (13) Wandering/running away from home

IV. *Delinquent history*

- (14) Previous approved school training
- (15) Age at first court appearance
- (16) Number of court appearances
- (17) Taking and driving away offences

V. *Classifying school absconding*

- (18) Persistence of classifying school absconding
- (19) Number of days after admission
- (20) Absconding at time of maximum opportunity
- (21) Absconding with confederates
- (22) Offences committed during absconding
- (23) Number of days absent from school
- (24) Corporal punishment for absconding
- (25) Detention for absconding

THE CORNELL INDEX AS A SCREENING DEVICE WITH • INSTITUTIONALISED OFFENDERS

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THERE is a substantial need for measures of psychological characteristics as

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criteria for the classification and diagnosis of inmates in correctional institutions. Craddick (1962) developed a check list of psychiatrically defined characteristics to be used in the discrimination of psychopaths from non-psychopaths. Others (Glueck, 1962, 1963; Voss, 1963) have been concerned with the identification of potential juvenile delinquents. The purpose of this study was to derive normative and validating data for the Cornell Index (C.I.), Form N2, as a screening device in the identification of inmates in need of psychiatric evaluation.

TABLE I

Standard Scores for each Sub-scale and Total Scale

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
0.	-70	-77	-87	-72	-59	-88	-76	-65	-80	-1.28
1.	-35	-13	-23	-03	-01	-42	-01	-11	-12	-93
2.	-01	-50	-41	-78	-57	-05	-80	-43	-55	-57
3.	-36	1-13	1-05	1-53	1-14	-51	1-59	-97	1-23	-22
4.	-72	1-77	1-69	2-29	1-72	-98	2-37	1-51	1-91	-14
5.	1-07	2-40	2-33	3-04	2-30	1-44	3-15	2-04	2-58	-49
6.	1-43	3-03	2-97		2-88	1-91		2-58	3-26	-85
7.	1-79	3-66	3-62		3-46	2-37		3-12		1-21
8.	2-14				4-03	2-84		3-66		1-56
9.	2-50					3-29		4-19		1-92
10.	2-85					3-76		4-73		2-27
11.	3-21					4-23				2-64
12.	3-57									2-99
13.	3-92									3-35
14.	4-28									3-70
15.	4-63									4-05

Total

0.	0	21.	39	42.	1-86	63.	3-33
1.	-1-01	22.	-46	43.	1-93	64.	3-40
2.	-84	23.	-53	44	2-00	65.	3-47
3.	-87	24.	-60	45.	2-07	66.	3-54
4.	-80	25.	-67	46.	2-14	67	3-61
5.	-73	26.	-74	47.	2-21	68.	3-68
6.	-66	27	-81	48	2-28	69.	3-75
7.	-59	28.	-88	49.	2-35	70.	3-82
8.	-52	29	-95	50.	2-42	71.	3-96
9.	-45	30.	1-02	51.	2-49	72.	3-96
10.	-38	31.	1-09	52.	2-56	73.	4-03
11.	-31	32.	1-16	53.	2-63	74.	4-10
12.	-24	33.	1-23	54.	2-70	75.	4-17
13.	-17	34.	1-30	55.	2-77	76.	4-24
14.	-10	35	1-37	56.	2-84	77.	4-31
15.	-03	36.	1-44	57.	2-91	78.	4-38
16.	-04	37.	1-51	58.	2-98	79.	4-45
17.	-11	38	1-58	59.	3-05	80.	4-52
18.	-18	39	1-65	60.	3-12	81.	4-59
19.	-25	40.	1-72	61.	3-19		
20.	-32	41.	1-79	62.	3-26		

Computed means and Standard Deviations for Sub-scales and Total Scale

Sub-scale

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Total
Mean	1-98	1-21	1-36	-96	1-02	1-90	-98	1-20	1-18	3-61	15-43
Standard Deviation	2-81	1-58	1-56	1-33	1-73	2-15	1-28	1-86	1-48	2-81	14-31

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The C.I. is an instrument designed for rapid psychiatric and psychosomatic evaluation of large numbers of persons in a variety of situations (see Broadman *et al.*, 1948; Buros, 1953; Mann, 1950). It is a derivative of the form N which was used extensively for military psychiatric screening. The manual reports a reliability coefficient obtained by the Kuder-Richardson formula of .95. Its main deficiencies are the lack of normative data for inmate populations and its susceptibility to response faking.

The subjects (Ss) used in this study were 161 volunteers from the male inmate population of the U.S. Penitentiary, Marion, Illinois. Ss were all classified as maximum security with an age range of eighteen to twenty-four. Ss were given the C.I. as a part of a larger battery of tests including the MMPI. In an effort to minimise the possibility of intentional falsification of responses, Ss were told that they would be and were given individual appointments to discuss their test results.

Normative data in the form of standard scores were computed from the sample data. Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, for each sub-test and the standard scores for all possible raw scores for each sub-test and for the total test.*

The highest mean scores were obtained on sub-scales 1 (fear and inadequacy) and 10 (troublesome psychopathy). Even here, however, mean scores are not high. The variability on all scales except Psychosomatic Symptoms (6) covers nearly the full range of items. The scores on the full scale produce a mean which is not significantly different from the suggested cut off score of 13. However, the range on total scores extends upward quite severely. The use

TABLE 2
Inter-correlations of Sub-scales and Total Test
N = 161

	Fear and inadequacy 1	Depression 2	Nervousness and anxiety 3	Neurocirculatory symptoms 4	Startle reaction 5	Psychosomatic symptoms 6	Hypochondriasis and asthenia 7	Gastrointestinal symptoms 8	Sensitivity and suspicion 9	Troublesome psychopathy 10	Total *
1	1.00	.64	.54	.55	.72	.67	.61	.41	.66	.56	.78
2		1.00	.49	.43	.53	.60	.55	.24	.62	.64	.70
3			1.00	.43	.63	.62	.62	.29	.57	.60	.70
4				1.00	.46	.61	.56	.52	.46	.33	.62
5					1.00	.63	.48	.34	.69	.63	.76
6						1.00	.64	.44	.61	.53	.78
7							1.00	.44	.54	.57	.73
8								1.00	.31	.29	.45
9									1.00	.68	.76
10										1.00	.69

* Total Scale Minus the Sub-scale

* Special thanks are due to Mr. Reginald Still for assistance with the statistical analysis.

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of the stop items would seem to be of some additional use only if those occurring in some other sub-scale than the tenth are used. Here two of the stop items deal with arrests and institutionalisation.

The inter-correlations between the ten separate sub-scales and between each sub-test and the total test minus the sub-test score were computed. These are reported in Table 2.

The authors have included in the tenth sub-scale items which are presumed to reflect psychopathy. Our particular interest was in determining the extent to which responses on this sub-scale could be considered independent of those of the other sub-scales. As the data in Table 2 indicate the correlations of scores on this sub-scale are positive and all significant although the relationships of sub-scale 10 with 4 and 8 are of low order. Both of these reflect complaints which are more psychosomatic in nature.

In an effort to determine the effectiveness of the C.I. in screening inmates having personality maladjustments from the rest of the inmate population correlation coefficients were computed between the total scores on the C.I. and the neurotic triad, psychotic triad, and several individual scales on the MMPI. These are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 indicates that on all comparisons except the comparison between the C.I. scores and the neurotic triad, the correlation computed from our sample data are higher than those reported in Table 6 of the test manual. The psychotic triad of the MMPI correlated with C.I. total score more highly than any other single comparison.

TABLE 3

Relationships Between the Cornell Index and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory

(161 Male Inmates)

MMPI	MMPI		Cornell Index		Product moment Correlation
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Neurotic triad ¹	60.27	19.53	15.43	14.30	.46
Psychotic triad ²	62.42	23.1	15.43	14.30	.75
Hypomania	64.4	22.8	15.43	14.30	.42
Psychoasthenia	60.22	28.1	15.43	14.30	.63
Paranoia	60.2	11.4	15.43	14.30	.64
Psychopathic deviate	76.3	29.5	15.43	14.30	.41
Depression	63	22.5	15.43	14.30	.54

¹ Neurotic Triad—Hs, D, Hy

² Psychotic Triad—Pa, Pt, Sc

The C.I. test manual suggests three methods of interpreting the index scores, established by comparing the number of armed forces inductees rejected on the basis of the C.I. with the incidence of the same Ss rejected and accepted from a psychiatric interview. Method A, twenty-three or more items, detected 50 per cent. of the psychiatric rejects while rejecting only 4 per cent. of the psychiatric accepts. Method B, thirteen or more items, identified 74 per cent.

of the rejects but rejected 13 per cent. of the accepts. Method C, thirteen or more items plus one or more "stop" items (*i.e.*, "Have you ever had a fit or convulsion?") screened 83 per cent. of the rejects and 20 per cent. of the accepts.

The contingency coefficient between the number of stop items broken into the three categories of C.I. total scores suggested in the manual proved to be .61 (Table 4). In order to compute the contingency coefficient and theoretical number of stop items marked for each category was derived by multiplying the mean number of stop items marked by the number of Ss in each category. The data indicate a high degree of positive relationship between C.I. scores and

TABLE 4
Number of stop items for 3 categories of CI Total Score

Index score	12 or less	13 to 23	23 or more
Number of Ss	76	30	30
Observed number of stop items marked	48	34	82

$\chi^2=79.153$
 $p<.001$
 $c=.606$

TABLE 5
Number of T scores over 70 for 3 categories of CI Total Score

Index score	12 or less	13 to 23	23 or more
Number of Ss	76	30	30
Number of Observed T Scores over 70	100	70	148

$\chi^2=120.38$ df. 2
 $p<.001$
 $c=.685$

the number of stop items checked. Table 5 summarises similar data for the MMPI T scores over 70. A similar relationship exists between the C.I. scores and the number of MMPI T scores over 70 with a contingency coefficient of .685 where the maximum value possible would be .816. Apparently those persons with a C.I. score of less than 13 marked fewer stop items and scored fewer T scores over 70 than would have been expected. In addition, those persons with a C.I. score of 23 or higher marked more stop items and obtained more T scores over 70 than chance alone would allow.

These data on the C.I. suggest that it would be of use as a screening device in a correctional setting. Experience has revealed that inmates respond more readily to this kind of test than to more traditional testing instruments. Our data indicate that the results of this instrument are in agreement with other data requiring more time and co-operation from the inmate. The data would seem to support the instrument's ability to identify individuals with psychiatric, psychosomatic or character disorders but would not appear to discriminate among them.

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NOTES

PREVENTING DELINQUENCY BY COMMITTEE

GORDON ROSE *

THERE have been two attempts by the Government in England to try to stimulate the formation of local Juvenile Delinquency Committees. In 1916, as a result of considerable anxiety concerning the rise of juvenile delinquency during the First World War, the Home Office called a conference of bodies interested in the welfare of juveniles and, as a result of this, a Central Committee and a number of local Juvenile Organisations' Committees were set up. In 1918 the responsibility for these was transferred to the Board of Education, and they subsequently concerned themselves primarily with out-of-school activities. (Board of Education, 1933). No doubt a number of these have continued to exist under various names as committees dealing with youth, and youth organisations. The Central Committee conducted a very interesting enquiry into juvenile delinquency, which was published in 1920 (Board of Education, 1920), but then seems to have died. Amongst other things the Report includes a follow-up over two years of a group of juvenile offenders.

The second attempt of this kind derives from the post-war rise in the delinquency figures. There was considerable concern about the persistently high

* Department of Social Administration, University of Manchester.

rate after the war, and particularly a serious increase in the number of juvenile offenders in the first part of 1948. A preliminary conference was held on March 2, 1949 at which representatives of the churches, local authorities, juvenile courts, teachers, voluntary organisations and others were present and it was decided that the "leaders of public life" in each area should be invited to call local conferences. A joint letter from the Home Office and the Ministry of Education was therefore sent to chairmen of county councils and lord mayors and mayors of county boroughs in April 1949. (Home Office Children's Department, 1951, Appendix 1.)

It was suggested that there should be regular local meetings of a representative committee and these should have the immediate task of finding out the facts about juvenile delinquency in the area "and the main contributory influences with a view to preventive measures and remedies." A list of questions was provided, covering leisure-time pursuits, the work of the schools, spotting and helping juvenile delinquents at an early stage, arrangements for ineducable children, advice to parents, youth employment and co-operation in general. The last question suggested the possibility of using the local authority as a clearing-house for information and enquiries and a co-ordinator of appropriate action.

Many local authorities in fact convened committees, and Appendix 10 of the Sixth Report of the Children's Department also contains a House of Lords White Paper of March 23, 1950, which says that, of the 145 local authorities, seventy-three held local conferences, fifteen intended to do so, and fifty-eight area committees composed of representatives of the local services had been established.

Enquiries concerning the existence of juvenile delinquency committees show the following results.

It will be seen from this that the figure of fifty-eight is probably not far out if we add in county districts from which we received no information (there were twelve in Essex, for instance). However, sixteen of the thirty-seven for which we have information died in the first two years, twelve of them holding only one or two meetings. Twenty-six held less than ten meetings, which is not very much for a committee. Most of those which went on met somewhat formally, and few were actually engaging in any kind of preventive work.

The general picture appears to be that a large meeting was held. In most cases nothing else happened, but in some cases a sub-committee was set up, and this in the majority of cases met a few times and then ceased to operate. Several authorities, for example Nottingham and Liverpool, had already formed local committees, and both Nottingham and Liverpool had had them in operation since 1946:

We shall consider later why it is that the committees did not survive, but we need first of all to say something of what they actually did. Most of them covered a wide range of subjects, and a number took the questions posed in the Home Office circular letter, which were also wide-ranging, and attempted to answer them. Most committees obtained local statistics on juvenile offences, reviewed the available provision and made recommendations.

TABLE 1
Areas with Juvenile Delinquency Committees

Type of area	No reply. Presumably no committee	No committee or never met	District committees formed	Number of committees discontinued after:											All authorities
				Under 6 months	6 months to 1 year	Years					6 years and over	Not known	Total		
						1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6					
Counties	21	27	3*	—	2	2	2	—	1	—	—	4	11	62	
County boroughs	20	28	—	1	5	6	2	4	2	4	6	5	35	83	
Total	41	55	3	1	7	8	4	4	3	4	6	9	46	145	

* In these three counties we have information concerning four districts in which the committee lasted for four years (2), and five years (2).

TABLE 2
Number of Meetings

Type of Area	1-2	3-9	10-19	20 and over	Not known	Total
Counties*	7	2	1	1	—	11
County boroughs	5	12	5	5†	8	35
	12	14	6	6	8	46

* Of the four county districts two had nine meetings, one ten, and the other is not known.

† Actual numbers, 20, 24, 28, 30, 66.

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These fell into a number of categories, which might be roughly subsumed under the following headings:

Placing Responsibility on Parents

It was emphasised that parents failed to live up to their responsibilities, and numerous suggestions were made with the object of either forcing them or helping them to take better care of their children. In Lancashire, for instance, evidence was invited from local committees of the N.U.T. and from various other people and these almost all stressed the responsibility of the parents, often adding comments about the undesirability of mothers working. Other recommendations by various committees were that the parents should be punished by the court, that there should be more publicity directed towards parents, that there should be more parent-teacher associations. Reports were inclined to be either sympathetic towards parents or punitive towards parents according to the make-up of the local committees. In Lancashire, for instance, the evidence received was very largely discounted by the Central Committee which emphasised the lack of affection in the home rather than punitive measures, and they thought that the school had a special responsibility towards children who were experiencing a lack of affection.

Schools

There was a fair amount of criticism of the provision for education, and particularly of the lack of places for educationally subnormal children. Schools should not only enforce attendance but should also provide better for the child, and have closer contacts with his parents.

Youth Work

A large number of recommendations were made about improving the youth services, particularly more money and personnel. More playing fields and open spaces were also widely recommended.

Juvenile Courts

A great many recommendations were also made under this heading, some of them recommending more punitive measures, and some of them the extension of treatment measures, the balance being in favour of the former. The question of the publication of names of juvenile offenders was raised a number of times, and also the nature of the punishment given which was felt to be inconsistent, or at least not properly understood by the parents or sufficiently related to the offence.

Methods of Treatment

There were a number of requests for more detention centres, attendance centres and for special types of approved schools.

There was also a large range of questions covering youth employment, films and undesirable literature, housing, religious teaching, amusement arcades, and a number of other things which might be considered to have some bearing on juvenile delinquency.

In 1953 the Home Office and Ministry of Education issued a circular quoting some of the questions raised by the reports and making comments on them.¹ The comments are of a defensive nature and no particular action is suggested, except going on doing what was already being done, but rather more so. This was of course a period of recurring crisis and extreme capital restriction and there were severe limitations upon grant aid, and these bore particularly hardly on the youth services, which received no stimulation until the Report of the Albemarle Committee in 1960. Many of the recommendations made were impracticable and sometimes not very sensible, but some of them, and particularly those which dealt with the better utilisation of existing services, might have been pursued further. It seems, however, that Government action, in so far as there had been any, ceased with the publication of the circular in 1953. Its appearance briefly revived the committees, who met to consider its uninspiring comments, and once more dissolved into limbo.

Types of Activity

The sort of activities undertaken by the committees depended very largely upon the predilections of the more enthusiastic members. They were rarely based on the facts collected, although this sometimes led to a concentration of effort in particular areas. They can again best be described under a number of headings although some authorities did several things at once.

The Collection of Figures

Most committees collected some figures, but in Nottinghamshire, Derby, Bristol and Coventry considerable efforts were made to obtain statistics. In Nottinghamshire the research sub-committee made a special survey of juvenile offenders in 1948 and 1949 and obtained a lot of extra information from the probation service. In Derby summaries of the available statistics divided into wards and showing a number of details about the child and his home and previous offences were submitted to the committee once yearly up to the end of 1960, though no special action seems to have been taken upon them. In Bristol a special analysis was made of all the cases from one particular area of the town for the three years 1948, 1949 and 1950, and of 100 cases coming before the juvenile court, and in Coventry an attempt was made to divide up cases by causes of delinquency. One cannot say on the whole, however, that this type of information was very useful to committees except in showing them what the trend of juvenile crime was, both generally and locally in different parts of the area. A number of committees prepared spot maps which were also useful in demonstrating where delinquency was mainly concentrated. Little or no attempt was made, however, to improve upon the available statistics other than in the cases referred to and perhaps in one or two areas not mentioned above.

¹ Home Office Circular No. 90/1953, Ministry of Education Circular No. 265/1953, July 20, 1953. Reproduced as Appendix 9 of the 7th Report on the Work of the Children's Department, 1955.

Research

In several cases research was seriously discussed, but the Home Office was clearly concerned about the possibility of starting off schemes which would not add much to knowledge of the subject and tended to come down heavily, perhaps too heavily, on those who wished to engage in research studies. In Darlington, for instance, it was decided to seek academic assistance and the committee wrote to four universities asking if anyone was interested, and received a reply from one of them indicating that they might like to do some work in the area. A serious damper was put on this offer by a letter from the Home Office, which had also been approached, indicating that it was not contemplated that local authorities should undertake scientific research. This effectively put a stop to the committee's activities in this direction, interest died and so did the delinquency committee.

In Nottinghamshire a research sub-committee was set up with representatives of the University. As mentioned before, a good deal of statistical information was collected and it was suggested to the Home Office that a study should be carried out of boys on probation, and that a research worker could be appointed. The reply from the Home Office said that there was no statutory power for a local authority to finance research into delinquency and expenditure on research could not properly be accepted as expenditure for police, probation, education or child care purposes. Furthermore Parliament had recently made a special provision under section 77 of the Criminal Justice Act to finance research from the centre and it seemed good law that it could not be financed through the medium of any other authority. The Home Office could not, however, provide any money for this study because of "the present financial situation," and they suggested that Nottingham University should themselves finance the project! They further criticised the idea behind the project and suggested that the committee might concentrate on the immediate "existing cause for the breakdown into delinquency." This led to a series of further discussions and eventually a project was set up which resulted in a very interesting report upon the different family backgrounds of delinquents and non-delinquents. (Spratt *et al.*, 1954.) By this time the relationship with the original enquiries and the juvenile delinquency committee was distant.

In Bristol there was considerable interest in research and this was canalised by J. A. Mack, who was at this time surveying the possibilities of research in this field for the Carnegie Foundation, into a study which subsequently became the Bristol Social Project. It is very probable, however, that this would have happened in Bristol or elsewhere as a result of Mr. Mack's recommendations, whether or not there had been a juvenile delinquency committee.

The only other case appears to be a survey committee run by a doctor in Bournemouth, which was already in existence before the 1949 circular came round. The presence of this group seemed to have influenced the authority in not taking the Government's circular any further. The survey does not seem, however, to have been concluded and no results could be obtained.

Work with Families

In a number of areas attempts were made to organise work with local

problem families. In Nottingham City, for instance, the local authority referred a number of families to a panel established by the churches, which provided visitors. This started in 1953 and was still going in 1957 when the committee ceased operating. In Coventry several area committees were set up which carried out the same kind of work. In West Ham a local Recorder, W. A. L. Raeburn, K.C., a man very well known for his liberal views, made a report to the committee recommending the setting up of a Family Welfare Group. In order to start this those members of the Central Committee who wanted to take part formed themselves into four case committees, and various organisations in the town were asked to submit cases for these committees to deal with. In fact the constitution of the case committees, with their mixture of councillors and chief officers, was hardly likely to attract referrals from social work agencies and the scheme never got going.

Publicity

Both in the City of Nottingham and in Liverpool a great deal of effort was put initially into publicity campaigns designed to bring home to parents in particular the dangers of their children falling into delinquency. The Liverpool campaign is referred to below. The setting up of the committees themselves was, of course, an attempt to draw attention to the problems concerned, which they certainly did, at least temporarily, but it was not at all clear to whom the publicity should be directed and it is very doubtful if the type of publicity engaged in could have been very effective.

The Liverpool Juvenile Delinquency Committee

In contrast to most of the others the history of the Liverpool Juvenile Delinquency Committee is of particular interest. This was founded in 1946 at a conference called at the instance of several influential local people. The conference set up a committee of which Sir J. R. Hobhouse, a local industrialist, was the chairman, and the secretary was the Chief Education Officer who had recently succeeded to this post. There were at various times sixteen to twenty members, but in fact only about seven or eight attended. The committee was thus in effect a meeting of interested people, largely non-political, but with several members of considerable influence in local affairs. It also included the secretary of the Youth Organisation Committee, a body of some twenty years' standing which represented the local youth organisations. The Church of England Bishop was also an active member; as was one of the lecturers from the Social Science Department of the University.

Fired by the enthusiasm of one of the members the committee started off on a campaign of publicity, their object being to make people aware of the problem. They obtained from the Council a grant of £1,000 for advertising and £3,000 to make short films, and they also obtained the co-operation of the local churches for distributing some 200,000 pamphlets to people's homes. Posters were put up all over the city and a series of short films were made which were shown at local cinemas. Unfortunately one of these used a young girl as an amateur actress and her family subsequently sued the committee

for libel, with the result that the films had to be withdrawn and the Council became involved in a somewhat costly case, which eventually went in their favour.

These activities occupied the committee until about 1949. At this time at the Bishop's suggestion they had talks with several local community associations and, arising out of this, they began to promote the formation of local community groups to survey the provision for youth in their areas. By 1952 there were five of these in existence,

"The aim of these groups is to associate, in a relatively small area of the City with a population of 10-20,000, all local organisations and agencies, voluntary and statutory, in a common effort to further the spiritual, mental and physical development of children and young people. The special aim is to provide for the young people acceptable and satisfying leisure-time activities. In the constitution of each association, the area is defined by streets and it is laid down that the Association shall be non-party-political and non-sectarian." (*Report of the Liverpool Juvenile Delinquency Committee*, July 1952, page 6.)

The rest of the history of this committee consists very largely of the gradual formation of more and more of these groups, delimiting their boundaries, and promoting them where necessary. This programme had various vicissitudes but in 1962 there were seventeen of these Youth Welfare Associations. Of these, thirteen were in the centre of the area and four in outlying areas, mainly in the estates. Towards the end of this period, the Central Committee began to meet less often by itself, leaving most of the work to the local associations and meeting them to discuss problems three times a year. Although this was the main function of the Central Committee, it also interested itself in other problems; at one point there were prolonged discussions about the possibility of starting up special milk bars for young people, and it also discussed cinema clubs, vandalism, the possibility of using the basements of municipal flats as youth centres, obtaining more youth leaders and a number of similar problems. In 1959 the Central Committee changed its name to the Liverpool Youth Welfare Advisory Committee.

The local Youth Welfare Associations usually started by surveying the provision for youth in their area. The earlier ones were very much concerned with the conversion of blitzed sites into playgrounds, and several of them became responsible for the playgrounds thus provided. One of them was also responsible for a building used by a number of youth organisations in the area. Other activities of the association included inter-street football competitions, finding premises for clubs, trying to recruit helpers, bringing together youth workers in the area, organising games and activities in the school holidays, pressing for the setting up of evening institutes and local library facilities, organising youth rallies, operating a lunch club for local youth leaders and social workers, pressing the local authority to provide equipment and other things necessary for youth activities. In 1952-1953 the Central Committee became concerned about the provision for the under-fourteens and the Youth Welfare Associations paid a good deal of attention to their problems.

Throughout this, the committee was served by the members of the Education Department in a voluntary capacity. The Chief Education Officer was secretary of the Central Committee and various senior members of his staff (Chief Clerks and Deputy Clerks) secretaries of the local associations. They did this in a voluntary capacity, not as officials, although they used the resources of the Education Department for whatever local facilities were needed. None of the local committees had any money other than that which they collected themselves, but they obtained grants for specific purposes, such as providing equipment for a playground, whenever these were needed.

In 1964 there were a number of meetings upon the work of the Youth Organisations Committee and Youth Welfare Associations and the upshot of this was that the Council of Social Service took over responsibility for them from the Education Department and undertook to provide local secretaries and thus to relieve the staff of that department from carrying out this work.

A Central Community Development Committee has been established to consider all aspects of youth and community work and this has a joint secretariat from the Education Committee and the Council of Social Service. This body now co-ordinates the work of the Youth Organisations Committee and a Neighbourhood Organisations Committee and it is the latter which is responsible for the Youth Welfare Associations as well as for community centres and groups, art festivals and playgrounds.

One must consider this development in the light of conditions in Liverpool. In 1949 the Liverpool Police started the Juvenile Liaison Scheme and it is clear that, as a result, the whole problem of delinquency has been left more and more to the J.L.O.s who are members of the Youth Welfare Associations, the Chief Constable being a member of the Central Committee. The Central Committee thus concerned itself almost exclusively with youth work and indeed, except in so far as one can maintain that all youth work prevents delinquency, seems to have abandoned early on any real attempt to deal specifically with delinquents. Although there are occasional mentions of unclubbables or delinquents in the minutes of the Central Committee and the Youth Welfare Associations, no special attempt seems to have been made to deal with them. The J.L.O.s and probation officers do, of course, introduce individual delinquents into the existing youth clubs, but the Central Committee had nothing to do with the Rodney Street Club nor did it have anything to do with the setting up of the J.L.O. scheme.

The functions of the Associations are therefore confined to youth work, but in this sphere they occupy a particularly interesting position. The Youth Welfare Associations are organisations of local people in comparatively small areas who are interested in working in this field, by no means only those working for the youth clubs; and their business is very largely that of pressure groups, that is to say, they try to improve facilities in many ways, but particularly by trying to exert pressure on the Education Department, the Housing Department and the Parks Department. With the Education Department this formerly produced the somewhat odd situation of officials writing to themselves, which could not have had much effect in cases in which the Department was not prepared to help. The officials, in their private capacity

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however, wrote pressing letters to the Housing Department or the Parks Department and various other people, which were answered officially.

The local Associations exert a good deal of influence because of the nature of their membership and it is thus possible to go directly to senior members of the Council, for example the leader of the major political group or the Chairman of the Housing Committee, to obtain things which otherwise might have been lost in the complexities of the local authority departmental and committee system. The Associations are thus not only useful in providing points of contact and additional centres for pressure to get what is needed, but they also provide information about what is wanted locally and they give the Chief Education Officer an additional weapon for obtaining things in the youth work field. They have thus been a very interesting example of how the British system of local government can link voluntary community leadership, both elected and non-elected, and administration, in ways which are prima facie unworkable, but which in fact work admirably because they are based upon the realities of the situation rather than upon theories of government.

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CHILDREN IN TROUBLE: A NEW GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER *

Background

In August 1965 a government White Paper put forward certain proposals (to be implemented with the "utmost urgency") for the reformation of the law and practice relating to the young offender. In effect the age of criminal responsibility was to be raised to 16 and local family councils composed principally of social workers from the children's department were to deal with the majority of undisputed offences, but with the family court in the background. Courts for young offenders aged 16 to 21 were also proposed; junior and intermediate approved schools were to be merged with other residential schools and the right to trial by jury was to be abolished below the age of 16 years. It was estimated

* H.M.S.O., Cmnd. 3601. Price 2s.

that 1,000 additional social workers would be required by the children's departments to take over the work of the probation and after-care services for children.

The necessity for reform was widely acknowledged but the proposals were thought by many to be hurried and insufficiently thought out. In particular the Family Councils, without any considerable powers and composed inevitably of strangers to the children and their parents, were expected to confuse the picture and delay action. The demise of the probation service for young offenders proved controversial. In effect there was a pause for reconsideration, and a modified White Paper entitled *Children in Trouble* (Cmnd. 3601) was published on the last day of April 1968.

Meanwhile the Scottish proposals for reorganising local authority services,¹ following the Kilbrandon report, appeared in 1966. These included the merging of children's departments, welfare services, approved schools, and the entire probation service, into a new local authority department under a Director of Social Work, and the setting up of children's panels to be approached through, and supported by, Reporters.

While some regard the present greatly modified White Paper as confirmation that the earlier one was either unrealistic, premature or at least based on inadequate consultation, others see the Scottish proposals as justifying and developing the 1965 ideas.

The Proposals

The document sets out the reforms which the Government now proposes to introduce in the law for England and Wales relating to children and young persons.

Social action for misbehaving children should take account of varied causation, and should aim at supporting the child in his family, helping the parents, and maintaining the child's links with his community.

Juvenile courts, their existing jurisdiction and age limits will be preserved. All juvenile court magistrates will be appointed by the Lord Chancellor as in London. Children under ten can be dealt with only as in need of care, protection or control (as at present). These measures will be applicable up to the seventeenth birthday. Between the ages of ten and under 14 the commission of an offence will cease to be sufficient grounds for bringing a child to court unless it can also be shown that the child is not receiving such care, protection or guidance as a good parent may reasonably be expected to give, or is beyond control. Between the ages of 14 and under 17 prosecution of an offender will only be possible on the authority of a summons or warrant issued by a juvenile court magistrate, who will have heard the views of the children's department and police, and furthermore proceedings may not be taken unless certain prescribed criteria are met, in the main indicating a degree of seriousness of the offence or of the child's situation.

Probation and supervision orders will cease to be legally distinct and, under the age of 14, supervision may only be by the local authority. Continuing

¹ *Social Work and the Community*, Cmnd. 3065 Edinburgh, H.M.S.O., October 1966.

compulsory removal from home will only be by placing the child in the care of the local authority, and various intermediate forms of temporary residential treatment, for periods up to one or three months, will be fixed by the court, but the treatment method will be selected by the Supervisor.

Joint Planning Committees, convened locally by the children's departments, will develop a comprehensive system of community homes (which term includes children's homes and hostels, remand homes and centres, reception centres, and all approved schools), subject to central approval. The Committees will also organise the new "intermediate treatments" (modification of attendance and detention centres) and will re-allocate the functions of the existing approved schools. They will be guided and assisted in these tasks by a reconstituted Advisory Council on Child Care, by the Development Group of the Home Office, and by the Home Office Research Unit.

Comment

On the whole, and not surprisingly, the paper is cautious, with its emphasis very much on flexibility and adaptability rather than on firm proposals, and upon modification and reorganisation rather than innovation; it aims to provide a graduated and flexible system, and a new legal basis for steady development over a period of time.

It acknowledges the widely varying causes and treatment needs of individuals, and makes a great and praiseworthy effort to break away from the traditional retributive attitude to the problem; the term "delinquent" simply does not appear, nor is there reference to punishment; deterrence (a fine) is once mentioned in small type, but the need for control in secure conditions and protection of society are acknowledged.

Perhaps the paper would be more likely to receive sympathetic acceptance if it stated the dilemmas and difficulties more clearly. For instance, it is clearly demonstrate that it is always easier, cheaper and less of a strain to deal with misbehaviour authoritatively, punitively and dogmatically than to institute individually orientated treatment, and that those who attempt the latter will require training and will need to be of high calibre. The demands which the paper will make upon magistrates and social workers are very great and should direct attention and priority to training schemes.

The looseness of the argument sometimes makes it difficult to know whether the underlying policy is right. It is, for example, not evident whether the dangers of a too "efficient" court system are appreciated; the problem for the court is to stimulate the social services to consume their own local problems, by turning the great majority of cases firmly back yet recognising the few hard-core problems; it must surely be true that the fullness of court lists varies inversely with effectiveness of social services. A specific reference to the importance, and difficulty, of establishing the right mesh to the sieve would have been reassuring. And there is the nagging doubt lest, in the worthy intention to relieve and treat and to wrestle with the psychological problems of children and their parents, the basic defects of locality, housing and especially poverty might be overlooked. Is the report still stuck at the level of correcting parental faults (having to prove parental incompetence or lack of control before dealing

with an offence) or is it realised that the methods of upbringing by parents of delinquents and non-delinquents, from the same area, are not distinguishable?

Will the Joint Planning Committees (with responsibilities for *all* children in care) begin to make a Cinderella of the behaviour problems? Should not the team on the job, rather than the Supervisor, decide the length of treatment within the limits permitted by the court? Will the child care officers reach the same high standard and achieve the same balanced attitude to rights and responsibilities as the probation service? The aim of much of the treatment suggested is "to bring the young person into contact with a new environment, and to secure his participation in some constructive activity"—this is fine, but surely these are precisely the needs of 99 per cent. of boys and girls from secondary modern schools in urban areas, so should not the onus of providing these clearly educational experiences be placed in the lap of the education authority, which is the only one in a position to do something for all, and to tackle prevention, as well as patching? There are certainly many such questions here and the extent to which the White Paper stimulates discussion will indicate its usefulness.

P. D. S.

THE REGIME FOR LONG-TERM PRISONERS IN CONDITIONS OF MAXIMUM SECURITY *

THIS Report is the work of a sub-committee of the Advisory Council which was set up in February 1967 at the request of the then Home Secretary who was clearly concerned with the manifold problems arising out of the detention of high security prisoners serving long sentences. It must be seen against the background of developments in the field of long-term imprisonment. Until the audacious escape of the train robber Wilson from Birmingham prison in 1964, and later of Biggs from Wandsworth, few people had paid much attention to the question of prison security; by and large our closed prisons were more than adequately secure for the majority of prisoners and remarkably insecure for the small minority who were motivated to escape. A good deal of penological opinion was in favour of concentration upon perimeter security—which would have prevented the escapes of the train robbers—but the Prison Department showed little enthusiasm for change until it was overtaken by events, namely the escape of George Blake from Wormwood Scrubs.

Blake cannot be said to have been dangerous, nor any longer a threat to national security but, as is often the case, political scandals are not necessarily grounded on issues of long-term social importance. The Report of the Inquiry under Earl Mountbatten recommended not only the development of viable measures of perimeter security, but of a new long-term maximum security prison on the Isle of Wight, to be built in the Parkhurst/Albany/Camp Hill complex with the suggested name of Vectis (later changed to Alvington, some say because of possible confusion with the Southern Vectis Bus Company!)

* Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System. H.M.S.O. 1968. 8s. 6d. net.

The sub-committee, under the Chairmanship of Professor Radzinowicz of Cambridge University, and consisting of the Bishop of Exeter, Mr. Leo Abse, M.P. and Dr. Peter Scott, has produced a Report which is admirable in regard to the way in which the case for a decent and civilised regime for long-term prisoners is argued. If long-term imprisonment is a form of social euthanasia, then there are good reasons for ensuring that at least it does not have the physical atmosphere of a morgue for the living. There is nothing particularly new in what the Report says on these matters, but it can do only good for the subject to be ventilated frequently, especially into the more rarefied atmosphere of Whitehall.

The issue of a special prison was one on which the sub-committee found itself unable to agree with Lord Mountbatten. He had said that the new prison at Alvington ought to replace the highly unsatisfactory units at Parkhurst, Leicester and Durham which had been more or less hastily prepared and which, in his view, ought not be tolerated for a moment longer than necessary. Since the Advisory Council's Report was published, there has been serious trouble in Durham as a result of just the kind of conditions with which Mountbatten was so concerned. Radzinowicz and his colleagues are not, however, in favour of the concentration of a large number of high security prisoners in a single institution, but rather prefer them to be dispersed in special units among three or four of the new prisons around the country. The danger here is that these units may take on the character of the present Parkhurst/Durham type units which the Report so rightly deplores, but it is far from clear whether in deciding upon dispersal rather than concentration the sub-committee was influenced in its decision by having seen the design for the proposed prison at Alvington. By all accounts the design is execrable, no more than a modern Millbank with shortcomings for the régime comparable to those of that costly white elephant of nineteenth century penology. It is not of course the first time that architects in the public service have shown themselves to be mechanistic in their insensitivity—Everthorpe unhappily still stands. But on balance the arguments for a secure, intelligently designed high security prison would seem superior to dispersal. However, it is dispersal that we shall get, if only because of the intimidating cost of building anything at Alvington, good or bad.

But it was the suggestion that firearms should be used to enforce perimeter security that attracted so much public attention—an issue which is in one sense the least important in the whole Report because it is so strongly opposed by both the police and the prison staff, and it would be a bold Home Secretary indeed who imposed guns in these circumstances. The dissenting note of Scott argues that guns would result in an escalation of violence; ironically, only a short while after the appearance of the Report a disturbance involving firearms in an American prison (resulting in death) demonstrated all too clearly the enormous dangers of introducing so volatile an element into the control system of prisons.

Compared with the frenetic activity which followed the escape of Blake and the publication of Mountbatten's Report, this one seems to have burned brightly in the public eye for a few days to be followed by nothing. The difficulty is that the character of the prison population is changing as a result of

legislation. As the Criminal Justice Act 1967 makes it progressively harder for courts to use imprisonment, the offender going to prison will tend to become more and more the problematic recidivist. It is not so much that the number of high security risks will increase, but rather that the prison service will have an increasingly difficult task, and will need to concentrate its energies in innovation over a wider field. There is no viable penal reform group within Parliament, and some would argue none outside it now either. The long-term prisoner in maximum security has very few advocates in his case for decent humane treatment. Now while the pressure on prisons is temporarily eased by suspended sentences and all the other new legal devices for reducing it, is the time for the Prison Department to be studying in detail the constructive proposals of this Report. Otherwise, it is difficult to see how future trouble can be avoided and, while the prison must always succeed in any contest of wills between staff and inmate, it is a costly business and almost always unprofitable in the constructive treatment of offenders.

T. P. M.

CENTRE OF CRIMINOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

TADEUSZ GRYGIER

As a practical contribution to the field of the administration of justice, criminology and corrections, the University of Ottawa announced the establishment of a Centre of Criminology in July 1967.

The Graduate Programme

The Master's degree programme will be offered in 1968-69 and will be divided into two parallel curricula. One will concentrate on criminological research and provide the groundwork for a doctoral programme that will produce university teachers and researchers in criminology. The other will concentrate on correctional services and provide professional education for those who wish to pursue careers in this field.

The University of Ottawa criminology programme is interdisciplinary—many of its courses are already available in other curricula. In addition, however, there are courses designed especially for the new programme in criminological research and correctional services. None of these is available elsewhere. There are other features of the programme that will provide more scope, more interest and more challenge for the students. Studies will cover an eleven-month academic year as opposed to the usual nine, and courses will be available in both French and English, as befits the oldest, largest and most comprehensive bilingual university in North America. Candidates will be required to have, or at least to attempt to acquire, a working knowledge of both languages, but they will be allowed to write assignments and examinations in the language of their choice.

The Undergraduate Programme

This, now in the planning stage, will probably be the first practical offering

in education, outside Europe, to provide specialists in the treatment of anti-social, alienated and maladjusted youth. It will be a highly specialised and intensive three-year programme designed to bridge the gulf separating non-university training courses from formal professional education in psychology and social work. Students will be prepared for careers in treatment centres, training schools and other types of correctional institutions, as well as in probation and parole services and youth work fields. At the same time the course will prepare those who wish to continue their studies for graduate work in psychology, education, criminology, the social sciences and other related disciplines.

• *Research*

From its inception, the Centre of Criminology has been involved in research, and both theoretical and applied studies will always be important functions in the future. Its first projects have been concerned with children handled by juvenile and family courts, with probationers of both sexes, with young adults released from a training centre, with parolees and with unsuccessful applicants for parole. New techniques for the prediction of crime and recidivism and for the classification of offenders are being developed. The Centre is also building up a collection of reprints of research reports published by its staff; several papers concerned with recent and current work are in preparation.

Future Plans

Future research plans include a bilingual and bicultural study of family structure, social mobility and alienation affecting both parents and children. There will also be comparative studies in law, and co-operative projects involving the Department of Criminology, University of Montreal; these will utilise methodology developed in Ottawa for application in two jurisdictions (Ontario and Quebec) and in two languages.

CRIMINOLOGY IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

In October 1967 a public meeting was held in Melbourne, attended by persons from all the Australian States and from New Zealand, and, as a result, the Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology was formed with The Hon. Sir John Barry—a judge of the Supreme Court of Victoria—as Foundation President. In addition an Executive was appointed representing all Australian States and New Zealand. It was also agreed that the Society should publish a quarterly journal—the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*—and at the first Executive meeting Dr. Allen A. Bartholomew, M.B., B.S.(Lond.), D.P.M.(Lond.), M.A.N.Z.C.P. was appointed Editor with Dr. Duncan Chappell, LL.B.(Melb.), Ph.D.(Cantab) of Sydney as Assistant Editor.

The first number of the *Aust. N. Z. J. Criminol.* has now been published, and a note on this new publication will appear in the next issue of the *Brit. J. Criminol.*

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

REVIEWS

SOCIAL RELATIONS IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL. By DAVID H. HARGREAVES. [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. New York: The Humanities Press. 1967. xii + 226 pp. 32s.]

FOR the past decade, educational sociology has been the most productive field in British sociology. From Glass's *Social Mobility in Britain* onward, the cumulative effect of many studies has been to stress the strength of the forces making for "inequality of opportunity," principally in terms of class of origin and the home background. From a completely different tradition, criminologists have come to focus on the school as a determinant of delinquency, partly because the gross effect of other factors is insufficient to account for the erratic distribution of delinquency even within high delinquency areas, and partly under the impetus of the American theorisation on delinquent subcultures stemming from Albert Cohen. The work of Power *et al.* in East London seems likely to provide us with one of the most important new facts about delinquency for decades: the variation in delinquency rates between schools which remains when other social factors are held constant. The importance of David Hargreaves' book is that he bridges the gap between these traditions, and with the approaches of both participant observation and a rigorous social-psychological empiricism describes and analyses the structure and processes of social relations in a secondary school where both these concerns—the gap between the "successes" and the "failures" and the implications for delinquency—are illuminated and exhaustively documented.

Two major aspects of his thesis concern the impact of streaming on the social relations between teachers and pupils, and between the pupils themselves; and the subcultural polarisation that takes place between the academic and the "delinquent" streams as the boys move through the school towards exams and a fifth year on the one hand, and the earliest possible "drop out" on the other. The main variables that Hargreaves deploys to arrive at the norms, values and boundaries of the subcultures are friendship patterns and informal status hierarchies (derived from sociometric tests), orientation scores and academic attainment (derived jointly from teacher assessments, responses to orientation items and Sentence Completion tests). The skill with which these findings are deployed to bring out the "unintended and unrecognised" effects of school organisation, and the persistence with which every interpretation is subjected to the test of evidence, make the occasional flicker of anger at teacher ineptitude or inhumanity doubly impressive.

There can be no doubt that, by the fourth year at "Lumley" Secondary School (situated in a "problem" area in a North Country industrial town), the boys are not simply split, but *polarised*, into two oppositional subcultures. Here is 4A giving their opinions on 4D:

- the rough type, a bad type;
- a waste of school time and not willing to learn anything;
- dirty disgusting layabouts.

And 4D on 4A:

- a load of soft nigs;
- are treated like angels and us like louts
- bigheads they think know everything.

The upper stream (Forms 4A and 4B) subculture "is characterised by values which are positively orientated to the school and the teachers. The lower stream subculture . . . is characterised by values which are negatively orientated to the school" (p. 162). It is in this sense that Hargreaves invokes the term "delinquent" to indicate "that the values . . . are in the direction of delinquent values, though not of course being synonymous with delinquency." This is a very important rider. It follows that, for this school at least, Cohen was quite correct to posit the emergence of an anti-academic *contraculture* as a consequence of status frustration in an overwhelmingly middle-class dominated context, but went too far in seeing the inversion of middle-class values as automatically constituting a fully-fledged delinquent subculture. Even for the most delinquent group, led by Clint of 4C—a boy of well above average intelligence—delinquency was one strand only (though a major one) of their subcultural opposition to the school. "Copying" and "messaging" in lessons were, however, taken to lengths which quite justify Cohen's notions of malice, negativism, and versatility as components of the delinquent subculture. By contrast, the A stream boys *preferred* teachers to punish boys who copied and messed about in class. But on a host of behavioral and attitudinal indices, the two subcultures emerge as clearly opposed and quite distinct, with the highest status boys in the A streams being the most academic and intensely orientated to the teacher's values, while the delinquent group in 4C and 4D had the highest status and lowest orientation to the school.

Equally important is Hargreaves' stress on *process*. Tests carried out on all second year boys showed that streams were relatively *undifferentiated vis-à-vis* school and teacher values. But between the second and the fourth years, streaming had operated to group together the boys most hostile to the school in 4C and 4D, not only in academic lessons, but in practically every school activity. Only in rugby (where the captain came from 4D and the less academic boys were well represented in the team) did the stereotypes which the boys from different streams have of each other collectively break down. That it is orientation to the school, rather than ability, which determines stream-allocation is shown by the *growth* in the range of I.Q.s in the fourth year lower streams compared to earlier years. And the notion of *transfer* takes a battering from Hargreaves' finding that boys actually *depress* their academic performance to avoid transfer to a higher stream away from their peer group.

Finally, I would place this book among the most important products of British sociology this decade; not so much for the originality of its findings (since in one sense they merely confirm one's commonplace fears about what is actually going on in our schools) but for the author's quality of analysis, his

combination of the meticulous use of social-psychological tests with the richer human insight made possible by participant observation. His communication of the conflicts and divisiveness that we are skating over in our acquiescence in pseudo-comprehensive reform is of the utmost importance for social policy. Not least, he has reinstated Cohen's theory in the delinquency debate, a theory which has been over-discussed theoretically, and almost totally neglected empirically, and in doing so draws out its "interactionist" potential. Why, for example, has a similar project to this not been attempted in the U.S.A.? Many grand projects have followed *Delinquent Boys*, but not one centred on the within-school context most central to Cohen's thesis. One would like to say, in conclusion, "this book should be compulsory reading . . ." But for whom? Certainly for anyone concerned with crime and delinquency, not simply because out of 50 Clints may emerge one Charles Richardson, but because out of 50 Clints and 50 Adrians we have a hundred authoritarian-minded and mutually opposed young men. Certainly, also, for anyone concerned with our educational system. But, after Risinghill, can one assume that the inspectors, headmasters and Training College heads who should be in the van of educational reform, but in practice are—with grand exceptions—entrenched against it, will have the openness of mind to (a) read, (b) learn from, and (c) act on this book? If we could assume that they would, we should be well on the way towards the huge task of reconstruction that is so plainly called for.

David Downes

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By R. K. MERTON and R. A. NISBET. [New York: Harcourt Brace. 2nd edition. 1966. 847 pp. Price not stated.]

THIS is a new edition of a collection originally published in 1961. The existing contributions have been revised and brought up to date; and three new chapters have been added—on alcohol, poverty, and war and disarmament. Some of the original chapters have been dropped as a result—military life, disaster and catastrophe, and transportation in the metropolis. The explanation given is that they were more appropriate for graduate students than undergraduates. This can hardly be a matter of academic levels, since they resemble many of the other chapters in being extremely condensed summaries of the available information.

There are, in fact, two kinds of contribution. The summary type predominates, but there are also some where the author has tried to provide a new perspective on the subject. One of the new ones falls into this class; that on "Poverty and Disrepute" by David Matza, an author who will be known to criminologists for his *Delinquency and Drift*, which was also intended to set off in a new direction.

Matza's contribution will probably be seen, by the English, as both fascinating and sadly familiar. He distinguishes between the poor in general, those supported by welfare payments, and the smaller section who are not only dependent upon the state and voluntary bodies, but are also rejected by the community in general and are, therefore, "disreputable." Who are they:

the undeserving poor, to be treated as meriting less eligibility; and though he does not use these terms, they float behind the words he actually employs, like spectres raised from the dead. He does, in fact, cite Speenhamland and the 1834 Act as an example of the bringing into disrepute of a large proportion of the working population by pauperisation although his brief account overdramatises what actually happened. He mentions, in passing, the effects of less eligibility upon the penal system—very well documented by Hermann Mannheim's much neglected *Dilemma of Penal Reform*. He also mentions the Penal Laws as applied to the Irish after 1695, but goes too far in saying that they "were instrumental in creating the two traditions for which the Irish later became noted, terrorist rebellion and disreputable poverty"—Irish history is rather more complicated than that.

Matza's attempt to bring out the factor of social rejection in poverty underlines the strategic difficulties which all these collections of bits and pieces upon "social problems" encounter; the academic problem of producing any kind of theme which runs through the volume. People who write about "the theory of social problems" (e.g. Fuller and Myers¹ who are often quoted) are inclined to arrive deviously at the conclusion that "social problems are what people think they are." Merton, in his contribution to this volume, makes, as one might expect, a very much better job of attempting to bring some consistency into a collection which runs the gamut from mental disorder to war. He is wise enough to make a distinction between *social disorganisation* defined as "inadequacies or failures in a social system of interrelated statuses and roles such that the collective purposes and individual objectives of its members are less fully realised than they could be in an alternative workable system," and *deviant behaviour* which refers to "conduct that departs significantly from the norms set for people in their social statuses." The book is thus divided into two parts, which is a slight advance towards rationality. Merton also distinguishes between nonconformity and aberrant behaviour, a further categorisation of the deviant sector, but this is not reflected in the rest of the book. He does not, however, proceed to consider different forms of aberrant behaviour; and this is a pity, since one can only base an adequate theory of deviance upon limited sectors of the aberrant, or non-conforming.

He does, however, refer briefly to the question of the perception of deviance and the response to it, and here again much more could be said. For if there is a basis for a book about social problems which consists of anything more than a series of rapid forays into a number of fields, connected by the thinnest of threads, it lies in the analysis of social perceptions of social events. It is not so much a question of why this or that collation of behavioural patterns is or is not a "social problem" and therefore ought to be included. It is much more a question of how the rich see the poor; the sober, the alcoholic; the living, the dead; and the law-abiding, the law-breaker; and what then they do about it.

While American undergraduates continue to be fed courses called "Social Problems" consisting of a rapid skate through the terrain, a quick look at the topography, and on to new pastures, we shall continue to be presented with

¹ Richard C. Fuller and Richard R. Myers, "Some Aspects of a Theory of Social Problems," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 6 (February 1941), p. 24.

these collections of thumbnail sketches. When the people who write them are able, as they are in this volume, they will be soundly done, and may well offer insights, and suggestions for reading which are worth following up. It may be that no student could summarise so well, even if he read several of the competent texts which abound in most of the fields covered; there are certainly plenty on the criminological subjects covered here—juvenile delinquency, crime, drug addiction, alcohol, suicide, and aberrant sexual behaviour. One may, however, be forgiven for believing that a competent lecturer can do the job better, and that even an incompetent student could be expected to read at least one longer text on each subject covered. Perhaps the stream of massive symposia of this kind from the U.S. is as much to be welcomed for what they tell us about American University education, and possibly the future of our own, as for the light they throw upon the many subjects they so competently summarise.

Gordon Rose

DIE KRIMINOLOGIE. By ARMAND MERGEN. [Berlin und Frankfurt a.M.: Franz Vahlen. 1967. viii + 534 pp. DM.46 bound.]

THE author of this textbook, Professor of Criminology at the University of Mainz, is widely known among international criminologists as the founder and President and the driving force of the post-war German Society of Criminology and also through his earlier book *Die Wissenschaft vom Verbrechen* and other writings. His present textbook is an enlightened and enlightening work, written from a strongly humanitarian and, at the same time, strictly scientific point of view, knowledgeable and perceptive, a publication of which German criminology of today can be proud. It is the work of a scholar who is equally familiar with law and medicine and, above all, of a writer who is not afraid to speak his mind. It is likely to replace the two earlier texts of Exner and Seelig which, in spite of their well-known merits, have still essentially remained products of the pre-war period. In sociological matters the author often follows Hans von Hentig, in strictly criminological ones he is indebted to the Gluecks and in the field of psychiatry to his teacher F. Stumpfl; on most issues, however, he still preserves his independence of judgment. Our well-deserved words of praise, do not, of course, mean that we can necessarily agree with all his views, but there are hardly any really fundamental differences.

The book is divided into ten chapters of perhaps too differing lengths; the more substantial ones are: II The Object; III The Methods (about 50 pp.); IV Criminal Phenomenology (more than 250 pp.); V Criminal Aetiology (only 23 pp.); VI Criminal Diagnostic (18 pp.); followed by very brief summaries of Criminal Therapy (14 pp.), Criminal Prophylaxis (19 pp.) and Criminal Prognosis (13 pp.). The final Chapter X, headed Criminology, consists of one page only and might well have found its place elsewhere without loss of substance. The numerous references to literature are very useful and show the author's comprehensive knowledge of European and American writing. Of

interest also are the remarks on the Soviet Union and East Germany (pp. 12-17). On the controversy of multiple causation v. differential association Mergen expresses essentially the same views (pp. 9-11 and *passim*) as the present reviewer in his *Comparative Criminology*. He is in favour of defining crime as an anti-social act (pp. 33 *et seq.*), but asks, quite legitimately, what this means and whether there exists a clear-cut distinction between social, asocial and anti-social (pp. 85 *et seq.*). The chapter on methods, though not very full by itself, is supplemented elsewhere (see, *e.g.*, the discussion of typological methods at pp. 377-389, where the author develops his own typology according to the degree of dangerousness; moreover, on pages 116 *et seq.*, he explains his "pansituative" method).

The real centrepiece of the whole work is the weighty chapter on Criminal Phenomenology, *i.e.*, the objective, "wertfreie" description of crime, criminality, criminals and criminal associations, throughout as much as possible trying to abstain from considerations of a causal nature (p. 148), a distinction which, though imperative, is, as the present reviewer has amply experienced, more easily proclaimed than sustained. The chapter contains much valuable material on such diverse types of crime as murder, white collar crime, cruelty to children, etc. In addition, further material on specific types of crime is presented in connection with the discussions of general subjects such as age, sex, race, etc. It is perhaps a pity that in connection with white collar crimes and the various types of theft and fraud there is no mention of the recent growth of larceny and forgery of works of art. However, we are here confronted with a problem, so far unsolved, encountered by all writers of textbooks on criminology, *i.e.*, how to combine within a relatively limited amount of space a full presentation of the general principles with an equally thorough treatment of all the more important specific offences. The discussion of causal connections is reserved for the next chapter, a separation which inevitably leads to a certain amount of repetition. In the chapter on "Criminal Diagnostic" the author is to some extent able to use the material collected for one of his earlier books, *Das kriminologische Gutachten* (1959) and his many other writings in this field. He is one of the very few academic criminologists who possess the knowledge of the literature on the technical side of crime detection needed for such a chapter. The chapter on prognosis, as already the corresponding part of the chapter on Methods (pp. 124 *et seq.*), shows a far deeper understanding of the real meaning and objects of statistical prediction than is often found among legal and medical criminologists, although it is perhaps too exclusively based on the Glueck techniques. Much as we admire the work of the latter as probably the most comprehensive, consistent, and influential example of criminological research in existence the author may be inclined to under-rate (p. 511) the strength and extent of the criticisms which have been voiced in recent years against some aspects of those techniques, not only by L. T. Wilkins, to whose work the author very briefly refers, but also by T. Grygier and others. This, however, is a difference of opinion and emphasis in a most complicated field of criminological research where the final solution—if any—is still far away. For the present we have to be grateful to the author for this truly outstanding achievement.

In the present reviewer's copy pages 305-320 appear twice, whereas pages 337-352 (apparently dealing with physical and mental deficiencies) are missing.

Hermann Mannheim

CRIMINAL TYPOLOGY: THE LEGALISTIC, PHYSICAL-CONSTITUTIONAL-HEREDITARY, PSYCHOLOGICAL-PSYCHIATRIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES. By Julian B. Roebuck. [Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas. 1966. xiv + 320 pp. \$13.50.]

OVER the last decade, American criminologists have shown greater disenchantment with etiological studies of criminal behaviour. Instead, many search for patterns of criminal behaviour, usually through some re-examination of previous work. Authors juggle the same facts and ideas to develop a "new" typology of criminal behaviour. Each author redistils the essence of criminal behaviour eventually producing a fresh integrated, multi-disciplinary approach. In *Criminal Typology*, Professor Roebuck proposes yet another critical evaluation of etiological approaches, plus an inductive criminal typology based on an empirical study.

The author considers four approaches to criminal typologies. Before examining each in detail, he argues the case for constructing such a classification. Despite similarities in approach, he says, adherents to each view engage in unnecessary polemics, producing extremist or eclectic positions, or complete rejection of classification. The only solution involves classification resting on a multi-disciplinary approach. Besides being an important part of scientific method classification fulfils the need for etiological and diagnostic-treatment types. However, diagnostic-treatment types give less scope for research. This discussion leads to a set of criteria for establishing an etiological typology. These criteria stress that patterns of criminal behaviour emerge in criminal careers and individuals with certain social-psychological characteristics embark on certain patterns of criminal behaviour. Using a multi-disciplinary approach, criminologists should study only these patterns of criminal behaviour.

Having outlined the problem, discussion moves to the four basic approaches: the legalistic approach founded on the criminal act and intent; the physical-constitutional-hereditary approach emphasising individual inferiority resulting from heredity or disease; the psychological-psychiatric approach concerned with motivational patterns arising from personality structures, psychiatric states or disabilities; finally, the sociological approach viewing criminality as the product of social interaction and culture.

Now we arrive at the new typology derived from empirical research. The classification was based on a random sample of 400 prisoners drawn from 1,155 negroes, who entered a reformatory in Lorton, Virginia, during 1954 and 1955. Four kinds of information were obtained: patterns of offences in criminal careers (from arrest histories); techniques used in each offence (from arrest histories, interviews and court records); details of thirty-four social and personal characteristics (from records and interviews); qualitative clinical impressions (from interviews, psychological profiles and medical records).

The author suggests that arrest patterns indicate particular patterns of criminal behaviour. Cumulative arrest histories supply a framework for classification. More recent charges are given greater weight, as they reflect more accurately the current state of criminal development. Unreported crimes form a similar pattern to the official arrest history. Counting the frequency of different offences enables classification according to one of four arrest patterns: the single pattern showing a high frequency of one kind of offence; multiple patterns (two or more single patterns); mixed patterns (none forming single or multiple patterns); no pattern (less than three arrests). Altogether, thirteen criminal patterns were isolated: mixed pattern (71 offenders); larceny and burglary (64); narcotic drug law offences (50); drunkenness, assault, larceny (43); drunkenness and assault (40); fraud (10); auto theft (8); forgery and counterfeiting (4). Each type of criminal pattern was compared with each of thirty-four social and personal characteristics. Every criminal pattern was also compared with all other patterns and every other pattern in turn. Comparison of social and personal characteristics revealed wide differences between individuals with different criminal patterns. Almost as an afterthought, the book ends with a brief survey of recent typologies.

Does the book represent any advance on similar attempts to provide a typology of criminal behaviour? As a whole, the reassessment is less satisfactory than some other efforts, viz. Martin and Fitzpatrick, or Ferdinand. The case for classification is poorly argued. Discussion of various etiological approaches rests mainly on description, rather than upon critical evaluation. Selection of contributors to particular approaches demonstrates unexpected inclusions and omissions. Turning to the empirical study, several problems arise. Why was this prison population chosen? How representative was the sample of the prison population? How reliable were the arrest histories. Looking at the comparison of criminal patterns, do the small numbers of cases justify broad generalisations made about specific types? How can such a typology be related to all types of offenders? Disregarding any shortcomings, the empirical development of the author's own typology offers an interesting and useful departure from previous analyses. Frequently criminal typologies depend solely on armchair theorising. At least this book serves as a starting-point for a much wider empirical investigation.

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Geoffrey Millerson

COMBATING SOCIAL PROBLEMS: TECHNIQUES OF INTERVENTION. Edited by HARRY GOLD and FRANK R. SCARPITTI. [New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 1967. 580 pp. No price stated.]

THIS book is a collection of papers, most of which have appeared in journals, on some of the more dominant social problems of present-day American society. Nine "problem areas" are considered: those of primary interest to readers of this journal are crime, juvenile delinquency, drug addiction and alcoholism. There is a timely section on race relations as well as papers devoted to poverty, education, urban change and mental illness.

One's first reaction is to ask: what is the purpose of a work of this kind? The authors feel that while the nature and extent of social problems themselves are frequently discussed, alternative courses of action are only rarely considered. Thus their aim is to provide a cross-sectional view of "techniques of intervention" with the hope that this will help answer the questions—often asked by students—"What is being done to help reduce these problems" or "What can we do"? In fact, the authors hope that this selection will serve as a text for a course in social problems.

As so many problem areas are dealt with in this book, it is rarely possible for the authors to include more than four illustrations of social action for each type of problem. This being so, one would expect the authors to concentrate upon papers describing actual projects or programmes which would show practical ways in which social problems are being tackled. But many of the selections are either broad discussions of the problems or general critiques of well established social policies. Both of these approaches are usually adequately dealt with in the kind of general textbook which the authors intended their selections to supplement. The section on crime, for example, contains a paper by Jackson Toby which is a general discussion of the underlying philosophy of punishment and a rather slight account entitled "Treatment: Past, Present and Possible" by Ashley Weeks. A third paper, by Cressey, considers the theoretical implications of using criminals in the rehabilitation of non-criminals, on the lines of the Syanon experiment with drug addicts. The other paper in this section considers the role of work release (*i.e.*, allowing a prisoner to work outside the prison) in the rehabilitation of offenders.

Now although all these papers relate to the prevention of crime, they do not, apart from Cressey's, add very much to what could be found in any standard textbook on penology. The editor's aims would have been more nearly fulfilled by including, for example, a paper on one of the voluntary associate schemes for discharged prisoners such as is run by Blackfriars Settlement; or a description of the aims and achievements of the "halfway houses" for discharged prisoners.

The three papers on juvenile delinquency prevention, however, have a more practical bias, two of them being descriptions of ongoing delinquency prevention programmes: the Mobilisation for Youth project, and the Provo Experiment, a programme which attempts to change the attitudes of persistent delinquents by a form of group therapy.

A major shortcoming of almost all of the papers included in this volume is the lack of any attempt to evaluate the various forms of social action described. The editors attempt to disarm criticism by disclaiming any intention to present critiques or evaluations of the policies and programmes since "only time will tell" which will be successful. But surely the first question put by anyone interested in doing something about these social problems would be: "Are these measures effective"? It is admittedly difficult to evaluate an ongoing programme; but not all of the social action projects described are ongoing. A notable feature of social action projects—especially delinquency prevention projects—is that they rarely incorporate any device for measuring their effectiveness, with the result that often one is little wiser about the efficacy of a

social action programme after its completion than one was before it began. This general criticism of social action projects could have been made by the editors not only in their general introduction, but in their introduction to each of the sections where they discuss the individual papers presented. Such criticism is almost entirely lacking.

The editors have written a general introduction to each section, attempting to put the problem in perspective. They attempt to define the social problem and describe its probable extent. This is followed by a discussion of some explanations which have been put forward about the causes of that particular social problem (an ambitious undertaking in two or three pages each time) and a brief discussion of what can be done, in which they briefly comment upon the papers presented. These introductory sections are not always as well informed as they might be. The introduction to the section on crime, for example, discusses the extent of the "dark figure" but the most recent study quoted is that carried out by Wallerstein and Whyte in 1947. The work of Gold in America and Christie in Norway, to mention only two of a large number of recently reported studies in undetected delinquency, should have been mentioned. The discussion of explanations of criminal behaviour is very one-sided; a passing glance at approaches which place causal emphasis on the individual and a comparatively long discussion of the theory of differential association. Again, in the introduction to the section on juvenile delinquency we are told that "England is having difficulty with Teddy Boys, Mods and Rockers, their equivalent to delinquent gang members."

In spite of all this, the book is a useful collection of papers relating to major social problems. Its usefulness to the British student is, however, lessened by the fact that this is an American textbook which considers social problems and their control from an American view-point. It is dubious how far experience in the United States is applicable to the British scene, though this book does provide a useful description of the way social problems are being tackled in the United States; the section on racial problems is especially good in this respect.

Peter Didcott

PROBLEMS OF YOUTH: A SOCIAL PROBLEMS PERSPECTIVE. By CHARLES E. RAMSAY. [Belmont, California: Dickenson Publishing Co. 1968. 122 pp. 18s. 6d. Paperback.]

A CRITICAL problem in the fields we conventionally designate "social deviance," "social pathology" or "social problems" is to be sure exactly what we mean by such terms. The social scientist must question and not accept the lay definition of what constitutes, say, a "social problem." The author of this book on adolescence is apparently aware of the "problem of problems"; one chapter is promisingly entitled "The Criteria of Problem Definition." Ramsay points out that while adolescence is not in itself a social problem, there are many problems unique to that age period. He goes on to distinguish between the problems that exist "for youth," that is problems within the cognitive experience of adolescents

themselves, and the "youth problem" as defined (and sometimes created) by adults. But this is as far as he gets. The complex relationship between these experimental and definitional aspects are not at all explored and the whole chapter is written on the most superficial level imaginable.

This pattern is repeated throughout the book. The section headings look promising enough: one entitled "The Adolescent and the Family" deals with the reactions of youth to parental authority, the sources of parent-youth conflict and sex problems; another on "The Adolescent and the School" deals with the separatist youth culture and school dropout; there is another section on economic problems and a chapter on delinquency (the only inclusion, for some bizarre reason, in a section entitled "The Adolescent and the Government"), in each case the discussion is superficial, the sources mostly obscure and the conclusions trivial. For example the discussion of parent-youth conflict contains sections on the automobile and sibling relationships and the only conceptual section is a summary of Kingsley Davis' thesis. A section on attitudes to parents juxtaposes a survey on teenagers conducted by the *Minneapolis Star* with Coleman's findings, and the conclusion is that it is wrong to infer from Coleman that the friend is taking over from the parent as the most significant figure for the adolescent; what is really true is rather "that parents and peers are strongly competitive." The chapter on delinquency is perhaps the most inadequate of all: the Gluecks are mentioned and so is Merrill's 1947 text but there is nothing at all on subcultural theory which is surely germane not just to delinquency but to any consideration of adolescence in a "social problems perspective."

The book is remarkable in fact for what it leaves out, notably any consideration of the major manifestations of adolescent rebellion in America over the past decade. Admittedly Ramsay is quite right to point out that the extent of the rebellion is exaggerated and that much of the separatist subculture does not involve a revolt against either American goals or means (which he wrongly identifies with norms). But surely there are forms of "separatism" which do involve some conflicts: the so-called "student revolt," the civil rights and anti-Vietnam movements, the hippies and all the rest. But then, Ramsay believes that "challenges for the adolescent have been largely absent since World War II." And although he condemns empty moralising about youth, he gives his own ideological position away by this justification of the historical interest in youth as being problem-oriented: "Today's adolescents will tomorrow be charged with the responsibility of meeting new and old problems and must maintain continuity in the social system in meeting these problems."

To say that his book is broader than the usual treatment of youth in a social problem context and narrower than a general treatise on adolescence is no justification at all for excluding so many important areas. This exclusion is even more remarkable in view of the inclusion of a separate chapter on religious behaviour, in which we are told, *inter alia*, that a survey (in 1944!) found that there was a slight age decrease in adolescents' willingness to subscribe to a statement that there is a heaven, "although even 74 per cent. of the seniors approved of this statement." Excluded also are major theoretical perspectives: Eriksen, Matza, Eisenstadt, Friedenberg, Goodman, etc. The last

two admittedly appear on a booklist, which we are told is for "advanced reading." Many of the items on the list, however, (which in my copy contained at least five misprints) are obscure rather than advanced, and the mainstream of writing on adolescence is hardly represented.

The intention of this series is commendable: to produce separate texts on individual social problems, rather than a conventional textbook which deals with each problem in a few pages. In this way, we are told, the "instructor" can "package a social problems text to suit his needs." One can only hope that the rest of the package (which contains aging, urban-rural problems, civil rights, crime, etc.) is of more use than the present volume.

Stanley Cohen

THE PROFESSIONAL TASK IN WELFARE PRACTICE. By PETER NOKES. [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1968. 127 pp. 28s.]

MANY will be delighted that a book of this nature has been written. It consists of a series of connected essays which examine the flabbier descriptions of what welfare practice is about. The welfare professions are defined as "those occupations where the declared purpose is to ameliorate the lives of other people, and to care for them, but where this purpose is accomplished by means that to the onlooker do not appear markedly to differ from those of ordinary social intercourse."

Peter Nokes asks the obvious but rarely asked questions. Is the purpose clearly defined (*i.e.*, rather more clearly than Rule One of the Prison Rules: "The purposes of training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life")? Are the purposes defined clearly enough for incompatibilities between them to be detected? Are they defined operationally? Sufficiently operational for practice to be straightforwardly taught to recruits to the profession? What is the nature of this almost ordinary social intercourse? What are the criteria by which we can say that progress has been made? How can we tell that progress was due to professional intervention? How can we tell a good practitioner from a mediocre one?

These questions distress us social workers, psychotherapists, educationalists (there is a fiery and justified attack on them for the remoteness of their intellectual and policy-making preoccupations, away from the basic questions), prison officers *et al.* They distress us so much that we do not ask them out loud.

Though this book is not a difficult one to read, it must have been a difficult one to write, to formulate the ideas to which there is so much resistance. Working in isolation from the general approval of the mainstream may to some extent have exhausted the author, for in this short book he gives no solutions, recommendations or workable strategies for the future (except for the sensible recommendation that trainers should also practise the profession for which they train their students). Surely, however, someone will soon do this, and owe much of his impetus to Nokes.

Here are some first steps. Let those who work in an agency define their aims

as regards particular clients (*i.e.*, not the agency aim but what they intend with Mrs. Jones). If a worker finds that he has different aims with different clients, he may call that "diagnosis." Let each worker do so, and submit to the evaluation of his colleagues his outline of the alternative strategies which will get his clients to a defined and desired position. Let each relate this position to more long-term aims, and let him give himself a date by which to reach that position. On that date the extent to which has succeeded is to be evaluated, with hindsight reasons for successful and unsuccessful social intercourse. Let someone in the agency keep careful records of this. Let them be published and evaluated.

This is grassroots stuff, and terrifying. We are not trained for this, and everything conspires to send us back to comfortable flabbiness. So openly to confess that our emperor lacks clothes! So publicly to endanger our empire!

Yet it is a right first step. Welfare practitioners will never lose their anxiety about professionalism until practice and research cease to be undertaken by two separate occupational groups. Practice will not improve until practitioners search into their own performance.

Josephine Klein

CHILDS COURT. By JOHN COLEMAN. [London: Macdonald. 1967. 144 pp. 18s.]

THE HAWKSPUR EXPERIMENT. By DAVID WILLS. 2nd edition. [London: George Allen and Unwin. 1967. 193 pp. 24s.]

BILL MALCOLM'S work, which started in a hostel in North Wales and continues to Childscourt, is described by John Coleman in *Childscourt*. Malcolm was influenced by A. S. Neill and believed that children should organise their own community. So he fostered self-government, allowing the community to organise itself through a meeting. But, arguing that he dealt with different children than were at Neill's Summerhill, he set limits to the power of the meeting and would step in if a mob looked like taking over. So he steered a middle course between hard, traditional methods and a too permissive approach.

Coleman states in the introduction that this middle course "*should* be sought by all teachers for whom teaching is a true vocation." It is this dogmatic approach that spoils a true assessment of Malcolm's work and it is nonsense to state that, because Malcolm is successful, all must follow his methods. A history of experimental schools would show that the belief of the individual in what he was doing is a far more important ingredient of success than particular methods. Homer Lane, Neill, Wills and Lyward had remarkable results but used different methods.

It is a pity that the book is marred by Coleman's attempts to justify everything Malcolm did. Malcolm is a pacifist who refused to fight against Hitler, yet he considers himself right to use violence against little boy Hitlers. "Bill [Malcolm] attacked first and before they had time to think what was happening he'd knocked their spokesman flat on the ground. 'What are you going to do about your bloody friend?' he asked. . . ." Coleman clearly accepts Malcolm's argument that you sometimes have to act against your principles. The boy was

not about to use violence against Malcolm but he was a threat to Malcolm's dominance of the group.

The contrast with the insight of David Wills' *Hawkspur Experiment*, an account of his work running a camp, a type of "voluntary borstal," at the beginning of the war, is marked. "Having spoken like a child, I acted like a child, and punched T. Miner on the jaw," and he shows how, in five seconds, a year's work towards making the boy feel secure was destroyed.

After reading this book one emerges with greater insight into delinquents' behaviour and, of the utmost importance to any one involved in this type of work, greater insight into one's own reactions to difficult boys.

Wills argues from brilliantly lucid fundamentals. For example, he shows how fear is at the root of discipline, illustrating this from his own disciplinarian days. From a clear premise he builds up a case for his own beliefs—that what is needed is not condemnation but real belief that basically the offender wants to be "good."

You are not left with the impression that his type of self-government in camps is essential. Instead he shows the need for love and understanding. The conventional answer that "discipline" should be meted out for delinquency fails, firstly, because a boy who has already been unable to accept imposed sanctions is unlikely to respond to more sanctions; he needs "to formulate a system of his own which is not unacceptable to society." It fails, secondly, because it ignores the reasons for stealing and attempts to treat the symptom not the cause.

Childscourt has glaring inconsistencies—children must be left unsupervised so that they are free, yet later bushes have to be cut down in case unsupervised children get vicious. Malcolm's distrust of psychotherapy fails to acknowledge its value.

In many ways the beliefs of Wills and Malcolm coincide; both want boys to discipline themselves, both want to give them a relaxed society in which to do it. As contributions to the study of experimental education they are poles apart. *Childscourt* is a patchy account of interesting work but it lacks the understanding of *The Hawkspur Experiment*. David Wills, twenty-eight years ago, practised techniques that today are becoming acceptable. He wrote about them with such clarity and honesty that the book stands out not only as a landmark in the history of the treatment of delinquency but as a fount of knowledge for today's teachers. Therefore this second edition is most welcome.

Roger J. Clough

SOCIAL POLICY AND THE YOUNG DELINQUENT. By PETER BOSS [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1967. 99 pp. Cloth 15s. Paperback 7s. 6d.]

THE WORK OF THE PROBATION AND AFTER CARE OFFICER. By PHYLLIDA PARSLÖE. [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1967. 104 pp. Cloth 15s. Paperback 7s. 6d.]

THESE volumes come from two series designed for social work students. Each is a self-contained, relatively specialised, work deliberately limited in scope, but giving suggestions for further reading.

Boss's book is concerned particularly with the adaptation of the legal system to allow for the immaturity of juvenile offenders. It sets the present system, and indeed current controversies about the juvenile court, in a historical context, which describes both the evolution of legal procedures and the introduction of a variety of forms of treatment. It ends with a discussion of the White Paper on *The Child, the Family and the Young Offender* and of the Kilbrandon report. It seems, as far as it goes, to be a useful survey, but limitations of space allow little to be said about the content of the forms of treatment that are mentioned. One must remain doubtful of the value of a description, for example, of detention centres in less than 200 words, and of similarly brief accounts of other measures.

Phyllida Parsloe deals with a tidier subject with rather more success. She gives a brief history of the probation service including its reorientation to after-care. Her main chapters discuss authority in case work, methods of working, and role satisfactions and stresses for the probation officer. Apart from one or two regrettable quotations from authorities on casework her style is admirably lucid and concise. She is aware of, and uses, the results of research into probation.

There is a commendable emphasis on the demands of after-care work and she appears to be in touch with the realities of work in the service. Her final questions about the relationship between the service and other branches of social work are pertinent, but give the book a slightly scrappy ending. This is a pity as most of her exposition is admirable in spite of the compression involved.

Books of this kind, however, arouse the fear that they may be too successful, in that students may be tempted not to read further, in spite the suggestions. It must be the responsibility of teachers to see that students use these books as introductions and not as definitive texts. Otherwise there is a risk that they may never have the experience of exploring works of major scholarship.

J. P. Martin

IMAGINATIVE PROGRAMMING IN PROBATION AND PAROLE. By P. W. KEVE.
[University of Minnesota Press. 1967. 293 pp. 54s.]

In this book Mr. Keve discusses various methods of work with juveniles and adults who are either on probation or released on parole from penal institutions. He makes little attempt to classify methods, so that one moves from casework and group work to the use of special situations such as week-end ranches or longer-stay communities to the problems of addicts and the client as staff. Unfortunately there is almost no discussion of the principles which may underlie the various methods and little discussion of the factors which might influence choice of one method rather than another. The book is something of a list, arranged it seems in no particular order and with some repetition between the separate items.

Some interesting experiments are mentioned, including river trips on a raft down the Mississippi and the use of various therapeutic communities for addicts

and younger offenders. In the main these experiments are described but seldom evaluated although it may be that many are in too early a stage for assessment to be possible. There would appear to be as many strongly held views about the treatment of delinquents in the States as in the U.K. and based on as little hard evidence. Nor will the English reader who hopes for new ideas from this book find many that are not already a part of current practice here.

What one would like but does not find is a discussion of the underlying difficulties of reconciling treatment and control. Such difficulties must be becoming acute for the American probation service which carries much greater powers of control than does our service and is now trying to find a way of becoming accepted as one of the social work services. Discussion of their difficulties would have been useful to us since our service shares this problem although the issues may be less clear in the English probation service, which has developed within the social services, is a recognised field of work for professionally qualified social workers and has, by American standards, very restricted powers of control.

Phyllida Parsloe

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. By PAUL B. WESTON and KENNETH M. WELLS.
[London: Prentice-Hall International. 257 pp. 56s. (before devaluation).]

THIS book, written by a professor of police science and a public defender, provides a descriptive survey of criminal procedure in the United States from arrest to sentence. Because the authors teach and practise in California, the book emphasises Californian and Federal law and procedure. Apparently written as a course book for beginning students of police science and criminology, it is also useful as an initial outline guide to American practice for persons interested in comparative criminal procedure. Its great virtue lies in the clear outline which it provides. Its greatest defect, apart from style, lies in the authors' failure to analyse the institutions and practices which the book describes.

The authors seem happiest when discussing topics which are primarily legal in character. Their discussion of the law of arrest, search and seizure, interrogation, criminal discovery, bail, extradition, judicial systems and appeals is generally clear, concise and informative. Unfortunately, the emphasis on description leads to some regrettable omissions. Thus, while procedure in juvenile courts is briefly described, there is no hint of the tensions (so ably dealt with by Professor Allen and in the recent Canadian Government Report) caused by the prevailing concept of these courts as institutions dealing with child welfare rather than crime. One would gladly have dispensed with the section on the examination of witnesses in the interests of an ampler discussion here. The prevailing tests for determining criminal responsibility are briefly stated. Again, analysis seems clearly to be warranted.

In non-legal areas, the authors' touch is less sure. The chapter on corrections is too slim to afford much information, though the discussion of the creative use made in California of the power to pardon is most interesting. The brief sections on sentencing the sexual offender and the drug addict breathe an annoying complacency. The failure to analyse these phenomena no doubt

stems from the authors' primary aim: to provide a descriptive survey. The good student can of course read further, and the authors provide a useful bibliography following each chapter to assist him in doing so.

Their style would doubtless have caused the late Sir Ernest Gowers to reach for his revolver. It mars the entire book. Is it really necessary to provide translations in footnotes for *a priori*, *a posteriori*, *modus operandi*, "cold turkey" and "hung jury"? It is perhaps too late to protest against the use of slang in an academic work. Pretentiousness seems to be an accepted vice; it is, at any rate, one in which the authors indulge freely. One could hardly surpass the following sentence: "Unlawful flight to avoid prosecution or giving testimony is synonymous with 'fugitive from justice' and this new law [a federal statute against unlawful flight] and the excellent work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in making apprehensions is providing local law enforcement with a new methodology for the return of fugitives from other states."

These comments may seem unduly severe. This book contains a good and useful account of criminal procedure. It is well worth reading. One may hope that its defects will be remedied in a succeeding edition. It is a tribute to the diversity of higher education in the United States that courses of this sort exist for the non-lawyer, and the authors' attempt to meet the basic reading requirement for such a course deserves a welcome from a wider audience than that to which it is primarily addressed.

L. H. Leigh

JUVENILE GANGS IN CONTEXT: THEORY, RESEARCH AND ACTION. Edited by MALCOLM W. KLEIN. [New York: Prentice Hall. 1967. 210 pp. 28s.]

THE purpose of this volume, in the editor's own words, is to "bring together practitioners, researchers, and scholars in the field of delinquency in an attempt to find meaningful similarities and differences in their approaches which might lead to a better understanding of the nature of delinquency, its causes and possible intervention strategies."

The reader is divided into four parts: (1) patterns of gang behaviour; delinquency; (2) related patterns of perception and behaviour; (3) some sociological concepts; and (4) action programmes. Unlike the majority of readers in the field of delinquency, this one contains original contributions which describe, discuss and analyse various aspects of on-going projects and social action programmes.

Particularly noteworthy of attention are the papers of Miller (Theft Behaviour in City Gangs), Tennyson (Family Structure and Delinquent Behaviour), Rivera and Short Jr. (Occupational Goals: A Comparative Analysis), Mattick and Caplan (Stake Animals, Loud-Talking and Leadership on Do-Nothing and Do-Something Situations), and Caplan, Deshaies *et al.* (The Nature, Variety and Patterning of Street Club Work in an Urban Setting). These papers are interesting in their approach and the analyses of the material constitute significant contributions (or hold the promise of contributing) to the existing

body of empirical and conceptual material as well as providing promising leads towards the improvement and sophistication of existing delinquency control and prevention programmes.

The book as a whole certainly falls very much short of the aim which the editor has set out to attain. He acknowledges a number of personal biases which "tended to colour" his own introductory statement of position and naturally the contents of the reader, but these biases do not provide justification for the lack of cohesion in the organisation of the book, and the poor choice of texts. The book contains far too many papers which seem to have been originally undertaken as class-room exercises or pastime research, or simply preliminary and pilot work, all of which of course seriously suffer from the shortcomings inherent at these stages of work; they lack depth and strength.

These shortcomings, however, could be used advantageously by those engaged in teaching to develop the critical faculties of criminology students at the introductory and early intermediate levels. *Juvenile Gangs in Context* is an instructively inadequate book.

Dogan D. Akman

STUDIES OF FEMALE OFFENDERS. By NANCY GOODMAN and JEAN PRICE. A Home Office Research Unit Report. [London: H.M.S.O. 1967. 78 pp. 6s.]

STUDYING women offenders has two pay-offs: it helps us peer a little more clearly into the obscure area of female crime and adds to the general corpus of knowledge on offenders, both in and out of prison. This latest monograph in the Home Office series consists in fact of three pieces of work—a descriptive and comparative study of girls sentenced to borstal and to detention centre training in 1963, an analysis of women offenders in the Metropolitan Police District in 1957 and a description of the characteristics of the day's population of women in prison on January 1, 1965. Clearly, none of these topics is broadly conceived nor ambitious in scope and indeed the whole study series is fitted into less than eighty pages. Much interesting information comes to light, however, and there are tentative signs of research innovations—e.g., a dissimilarity analysis of borstal girls which attempts to group them in meaningful clusters by a variety of attributes. One of the most welcome contributions to those interested in the field will be the founding of a central index on women prisoners from whose cards the final section of the monograph is compiled. It is remarkable to note from this (as the authors do) that 376 women (70 per cent. of the population) had between them over 1,000 children; this has never been presented elsewhere and should arouse some comment. Perhaps it will also stimulate further research into female offenders and their problems (although some is already under way). So far this is only a small contribution. Many of its tables are inadequately analytic—on page 36 it is impossible to tell which girls were pregnant and married or unmarried; the statistics on the MPD attempt no comparison with male offenders, and the range of information

available in the prison index is by no means comprehensive. Nevertheless, this monograph contains many useful data for the researcher as well as the administrator.

Frances Heidensohn

THE ADOLESCENT GIRL IN CONFLICT. By GISELA KONOPKA. [London: Prentice Hall. 1966. 177 pp. 16s.]

So little has so far been written about *female* adolescent rebels that one is bound to welcome eagerly any fresh contributions. But a problem created by the lack of work on this subject is that few new studies can afford to be specialised and single-minded; on the contrary, they have to cover, in summary, a great deal of territory and often develop their own conceptual framework from a series of fragmentary sources. Thus the work under review is written with the specific (and modest) aim "that it will increase understanding of girls in difficulties and action for better community services."

To achieve this end, however, Professor Konopka is forced to attempt a wide-ranging view of the current structural-cultural position of women, especially working-class women, in modern society and the consequences in "deviant" behaviour. Much of what she has to say is sound commonsense, mixed with a strong tint of sentiment, or widely accepted sociological platitudes, *e.g.*, "Women always worked and worked hard." This is not to denigrate her obvious sympathy with, and understanding of, adolescent girls, placed as they are at the bottom of an occupational ladder with the rungs cut away, whose only hope of "out" from dreary jobs and exploitive wages is a fantasised marriage which often fails to live up to expectations—a group who act out their disenchantment in a variety of modes which range from theft through waywardness to unmarried maternity. Her treatment of all feminine adolescent deviance as homogeneous and as a response to a fear-resentment-injury syndrome is interesting, although at times confusing, and by no means totally explanatory.

This "scheme of a theory" apart, the book's main contribution lies in the considerable case material which Konopka has collected, including a verbatim account of a group discussion session, on girls in conflict. Much more of this type of source data is surely needed before really rigorous schematising and theorising about adolescent female deviants can be adequately undertaken.

Frances Heidensohn

ALCOHOLISM. Edited by DAVID J. PITTMAN. [London: Harper & Row. 1967. 275 pp. 30s.]

THIS is one of a series of Readers in social problems, under the general editorship of Professor Cressey. This volume is edited by Dr. David Pittman, and consists of seventeen papers by himself and his colleagues, mainly from Missouri. They cover a wide range—physical, psychiatric and socio-cultural

aspects; the characteristics of special groups of drinkers such as teenagers, negroes, or chronic offenders, and an evaluation of the many follow-up studies dealing with the ultimate fate of alcoholics. There is a particularly interesting section dealing with theories of the effect of social policy in either reinforcing or alleviating deviancy—highly relevant to the current discussion about the effects of the suppression of soft drugs. This book is in no sense a loose collection of old articles. Many of them are purpose-ridden and others are condensations or reviews of the results of research. There is not a great deal about the problem of alcoholism in offenders but it is stimulating to criminologists to see the offender examined from the point of view of the expert in alcoholism. There is a good list of references so that the reader can follow up particular strands in a very complex subject.

T. C. N. G.

PORTRAITS FROM A SHOOTING GALLERY. By SEYMOUR FIDDLE. [New York: Harper & Row. 1967. 362 pp. 60s.]

THE shots are of narcotics, and the portraits are of addicts. Based on experience in Exodus House, New York, these case studies include portraits (detailed taped interviews), and cameos (shorter descriptive accounts) of American addicts. They will not provide easy reading for those unfamiliar with addict subcultures. Precisely how valuable they will be to those who know the drug scene well is hard to say. This book should certainly be read by all who have time to do so; unfortunately the people who might benefit most from it are the doctors and social workers who are at the centre of the heroin scene in Britain. I doubt whether they will ever have time to finish these very detailed and colourful portraits, and I cannot feel that to do so should be considered a matter of top priority.

Kenneth Leech

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Inclusion in this list does not preclude a later review)

ABT (L.E.) and WEISSMAN (S.L.): *Acting Out; Theoretical and Clinical Aspects*. U.S.A.: Grune & Stratton. 336 pp. \$11.50.

ALEXANDER (F.) et al.: *Psychoanalytic Pioneers*. Basic Books. 616 pp. 105s.

AUSTIN (M.): *Accident Black Spot: A Critical Study of Road Safety Policy and Practice*. Penguin Original. 255 pp. 5s.

BALBERNIE (R.): *Residential Work with Children*. Pergamon Press. 244 pp. 45s.

BALT (J.): *By Reason of Insanity*. Hutchinson. 238 pp. 35s.

BELLON (R.): *Anwendungsbereich und Wirksamkeit der Bestimmten Jugendstrafe*. Germany: Carl Heymanns Verlag K. G. 221 pp. DM.21.50.

- BERNSTEIN (L.) and BURRIS (B. C.): *The Contribution of the Social Sciences to Psychotherapy*. U.S.A.: Chas. C. Thomas. 116 pp. \$5.75.
- BORJESON (B.): *Om paföljders verkningar*. Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell. 259 pp.
- CHESSER (E.): *Living with Suicide*. Hutchinson. 176 pp. 30s.
- CLINARD (M. B.) and QUINNEY (R.): *Criminal Behaviour Systems*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 498 pp. 76s.
- COHEN (A. K.): *Deviance and Control*. Prentice-Hall International. 120 pp. (Cloth) 32s. (Paper) 12s. 6d.
- COLIN (M.): *L'équipement en Criminologie: Actes du XIV^e Cours International de Criminologie*. France: Masson. 583 pp. F.75.
- COLLINS (J. C.) and MORRIS (J. L.): *Highway Collision Analysis*. U.S.A.: Chas. C. Thomas. 282 pp. \$11.50.
- CORREIA (E. H.): *La prison, les mesures non-institutionnelles et le projet du Code Pénal Portugais de 1963*. Portugal: University of Coimbra. 90 pp.
- FARSON (R.): *Science and Human Affairs (Morrison Lectures)*. U.S.A.: Science and Behaviour Books, Inc. 214 pp. \$4.95.
- GLUECK (S.): *Law and Psychiatry*. Tavistock Publications. 181 pp. 38s.
- GOLDSTEIN (A. S.): *The Insanity Defense*. Yale University Press. 289 pp. 17s. 6d.
- HALMOS (P.): *The Sociological Review Monograph No. 9: "Sociological Studies in the British Penal Services"*. University of Keele. 252 pp. 42s.
- HALMOS (P.): *The Sociological Review Monograph No. 10: "Japanese Sociological Studies"*. University of Keele. 212 pp. 30s.
- HAYNER (N. S.): *New Patterns in Old Mexico*. U.S.A.: College and University Press. 316 pp. \$6.00.
- HENTIG (H. von): *The Criminal & His Victim*. The Shoe String Press. 461 pp. 90s.
- HEWITT (W. H.): *A Bibliography of Police Administration Public Safety and Criminology*. U.S.A.: Chas. C. Thomas. 242 pp. \$13.75.
- HOFFMAN (L. W.) and HOFFMAN (M. L.): *Review of Child Development Research*. Vol. I. U.S.A.: Russell Sage Foundation. 598 pp. \$8.00.
- HOWELL (R. C.): *Treatment of the Young Offender in Sweden*. Justice of the Peace. 24 pp. 5s.
- INBAU (F. E.) and REID (J. E.): *Criminal Interrogations and Confessions*. Livingstone. 224 pp. 52s.
- JACKSON (R.): *Enforcing the Law*. Macmillan. 266 pp. 30s.
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CORRESPONDENCE

The Editors,
British Journal of Criminology.

Dear Sirs,

As a subscriber and occasional contributor to both the *British Journal of Delinquency* and the *British Journal of Criminology*, from their inception, I feel that you will not take it amiss if I make some comment on what I think is a rather unfortunate shift in the editorial policy of the *Journal*.

As I recall, one of the original aims of the Editors of the *British Journal of Delinquency* was to seek to collect together and subsequently disseminate contributions from a wide range of people working in the delinquency field; the wide variety of contributions in the earlier numbers of the *British Journal of Delinquency* and, to a lesser extent, the *British Journal of Criminology*, are evidence of this policy. In the last few years, however, I have observed an increasing emphasis on what I can best describe as purely "scientific contributions" some of which, though of obvious importance and relevance, require a good deal of sophisticated understanding in statistics and psychology to comprehend them adequately.

Since a very large number of delinquents are handled both in institutions and the community by staffs who do not have this high degree of experience or understanding, it would seem to me to be important to try to leaven these contributions by reverting to your former more eclectic approach. In addition, it seems a pity that your distinguished board of Editors and Associate Editors does not include, apart from the representatives from psychiatry, anyone who is closely associated with the professional practice of correctional rehabilitation.

I am aware, of course, that the needs of social workers and institutional staffs in the criminology field are catered for to some extent in other journals, but the great contribution of the original Editorial Board and its policy was to bring together in one journal a wide range of contributors in all the fields or disciplines associated with the understanding and treatment of offenders.

Yours etc.,

H. A. PRINS,

Lecturer in Psychiatric Social Work,
University of Leeds.

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EDITORIAL

"To see ourselves as others see us" is not only a rare privilege, as the poet put it, but now seems to be an essential part of the new theoretical developments in sociology and social psychology, which are taking place under the banner of "role theory." The work of American sociologists in this field has so far hardly been matched in the United Kingdom, but Michael Banton has shown us what can be done, and Miss Cain has approached her studies of police work with this orientation.

The description of the conflict of roles which are involved in the police juvenile liaison schemes will be illuminating in providing a way of satisfactorily describing the obvious while at the same time bringing home to us some essential truths which tend to get lost sight of in the more general arguments over the police participation in this kind of social work. One overlooks at one's peril conflicting pulls which may be involved in such a situation—doing work of this kind within a police department; and it is salutary to be reminded of them. Much research remains to be done in this direction, not only with regard to the police but also with regard to social welfare workers themselves. We have hardly begun to test the reality behind the rhetoric under the guise of which much social work is carried on. What are the resources, both institutional and non-institutional, which are available and can be brought to bear on the solution of a problem? What are the techniques applied, and what evidence is there about their effectiveness? What are the real reasons which prompt us to see a child or adult as a problem and resolve to deal with him as such?

American lawyers, with the help of the sociologists, are just beginning to search for answers to similar questions in relation to police and prosecution methods and trial decisions. The work of Skolnick, Francis Allen and others suggests emphatically that more attention must be paid to these matters. If important policy decisions have to be taken with regard to the shape of social administration and juvenile justice in the near future, it becomes imperative for us to be alerted or sensitised to the significance of what we are doing, both to those who are doing it and those to whom it is being done.

OBITUARY

PROF. DR. W. P. J. POMPE

(March 10, 1893–July 26, 1968)

WHEN I wrote in this *Journal* * an account of Pompe leaving Utrecht University, I remarked how much he was looking forward to devoting the years to come to many tasks which he still hoped to fulfil. Unfortunately this hope has only partly been realised. More and more the burden of the years began to make itself felt. In 1957 already the first symptoms of a heart and vascular disease had manifested themselves. Perhaps the importance of these symptoms had been underrated by himself and by us. Although Pompe during his years of retirement had published several interesting articles, work became increasingly difficult for him. So the more important of his plans (the second part of his *Manual of Penal Law* and a book about penal procedure) have not been finished. Until 1967, however, he continued his important contributions as annotator of court sentences which are published in the periodical *Nederlandse Jurisprudentie*, and his chairmanship of several advisory committees.

In December 1967 a stroke made him a physical invalid, pinned to his chair and dependent on the loving care of his family and friends. Slowly his health was sinking, and it became clear that we could not hope to have him for long in our midst. Still it was fairly unexpected when, on July 26, severe pneumonia brought to an end this exceptionally rich and fruitful life, filled to the brim with important achievements and lived at a high level.

* Vol. 4, 1963–64, pp. 76–78.

OBITUARY

Until his illness made it impossible Pompe during his last years regularly visited our Criminological Institute and took part in many scientific gatherings. His former study always stood at his disposal, and of course also the library and the technical facilities. It is a consoling thought for us that till the last days of his life his heart was with the Institute, which he always viewed as his real life-work. Few tributes have pleased him more than the delicate dedication, written by Dr. Hermann Mannheim on the first page of his monumental *Comparative Criminology*, to our University "and to its Institute of Criminology and its founder and first director, Professor W. P. J. Pompe."

As I had the opportunity in 1963 to commemorate Pompe's excellent merits on behalf of penal law and criminology in our country, I can restrict myself here to a reference to that article.

Of course we will miss Pompe very much. For everyone who had the privilege to know him he was the example of that devotion to duty, which means so very much more than living a "dull and dutiful life." Many things he leaves behind that will endure for years: his *Manual of Penal Law*; the Criminological Institute, where the "Utrecht School," founded by him, was born; the centre for therapeutic treatment of mentally abnormal offenders at Nijmegen which bears his name, Professor Pompe Clinic; but first and foremost the image of him that his grateful pupils will keep in their hearts.

G. Th. Kempe.

THE ASSOCIATION OF VIOLENCE AND DEPRESSION IN A SAMPLE OF YOUNG OFFENDERS

H. S. ANTHONY (*London*) *

Introduction

DISCUSSING the part played by mental illness in the causation of crime, Walker (1965) refers to depression, reactive and endogenous, especially in connection with suicide and murder. The hypothesis will be presented here that, among young offenders, depression is especially associated with violence, and that this association is not limited to extreme forms of violent behaviour, or to depression of psychotic category or degree, but occurs over a wide range of physically aggressive activity in conjunction with depression of both reactive and endogenous types.

The hypothesis was formulated on finding a relationship between type of crime and psychomotor response on a test previously found to distinguish depressives from other psychiatric patients. The offenders were a sample of 197 young men and boys on remand from courts serving London and South-East England. The function of the remand centre and the size of the sample limited the expectation—and the actuality—of occurrence of extreme cases either of depression or of criminal aggressive behaviour.

Violence has been studied as an unscaled attribute, assigned on the basis of the individual's police record. Sociological and psychological studies of violence tend to refer to behaviour at high or low extremes of a scale of violent behaviour. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), for instance, refer almost exclusively to homicide. Psychologists, on the other hand, tend to subsume violence under the general head of aggression (*e.g.*, Bandura and Walters, 1959, 1965; Eron *et al.*, 1963), and thereunder study behaviour of which the law takes no cognisance—a procedure almost unavoidable with child subjects—or behaviour which, if illicit, is not assaultive. Nevertheless Wolfgang and Ferracuti's theory of violence as a product of subculture and Bandura's stress on

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The writer's thanks are due to Dr. R. Cockett and the Assistant Psychologists (Miss S. Carter and Mr. R. A. Neil) at the Ashford Remand Centre; to the Governor and to Mr. A. Straker (Prison Department, Home Office) for permission to work there; to the Psychometric Testing staff of the Centre; and to colleagues of the Home Office Research Unit for encouragement and criticism.

imitation as foundation for social learning tie in well together in the construction of theory of the sources and concomitants of criminal aggressive behaviour.

Downes (1966) has discussed the applicability of subcultural theories of crime in general to the behaviour of young men in London's East End, from which many of our own sample were drawn. In his view, the English working-class lad is generally little concerned about occupational opportunity or social status, tending to withdraw his interest from work except as a source of income, and to seek in leisure the achievement and excitement denied in work.

In early Freudian theory a necessary relationship was postulated between aggression and frustration. Dollard, Miller and their associates and followers studied this relationship experimentally from 1939 onwards. In later Freudian theory, aggression was deemed a primary instinct. The frustrations inevitable in life and exaggerated by civilisation may be met by impulsive aggression, by withdrawal, depression and apathy, by Brer Fox cunning and strategy, by charm, magic, persuasion, or by patient scientific study and action. We should have supposed depression to be an alternative to violence as a psychological trait, if observation in this research programme had not shown them as associated in individuals.

15 per cent. of the sample had at some time been convicted of a violent crime. Gibbens (1963) reported the same percentage in a sample of 200 borstal boys. In a sample of over 900 men and boys sentenced to prison, borstal or detention centre Banks (1962) found 10.3 per cent. with such a record. West (1967) noted an increase in the rate of convictions for crimes of violence. He quotes the *Criminal Statistics of England and Wales* (1964) as showing that the highest rate occurs in the age group 17-20—11.9 per cent.—the rate for males of all ages being 8.3 per cent.

Banks reckoned that only about 30 per cent. of the violent crime in her sample was of a serious nature. West, accepting the general observation, points out that a small minority of young offenders are as dangerous as anyone can be, and responsible for some of the most brutal crimes on record. Our own cases ranged from schoolboy bullying bought off with a shilling to malicious wounding in an affray and other assaults occasioning grievous bodily harm.

Depression has been measured by response on a psychomotor test. The test was developed following the report of Davis (1948) on responses of pilots to visual signals (a) in a simulator cockpit and (b)

presented by a simpler apparatus. The response-continuum ranged between extremes named by Davis *over-activity* and *inertia*. In the 1948 report (*Pilot Error*) these extremes were associated with anxiety-state and hysteria respectively, but later Davis (1952, 1964) indicated that the inert reaction was to be associated with depression rather than hysteria. Venables (1955) used a psychomotor test to provide further data on the over-activity-inertia continuum and the personality factors related to it. The present writer, in a research carried out in 1960-61, found that mental hospital patients diagnosed anxiety-state, hysteric and depressive tended to respond significantly differently on the

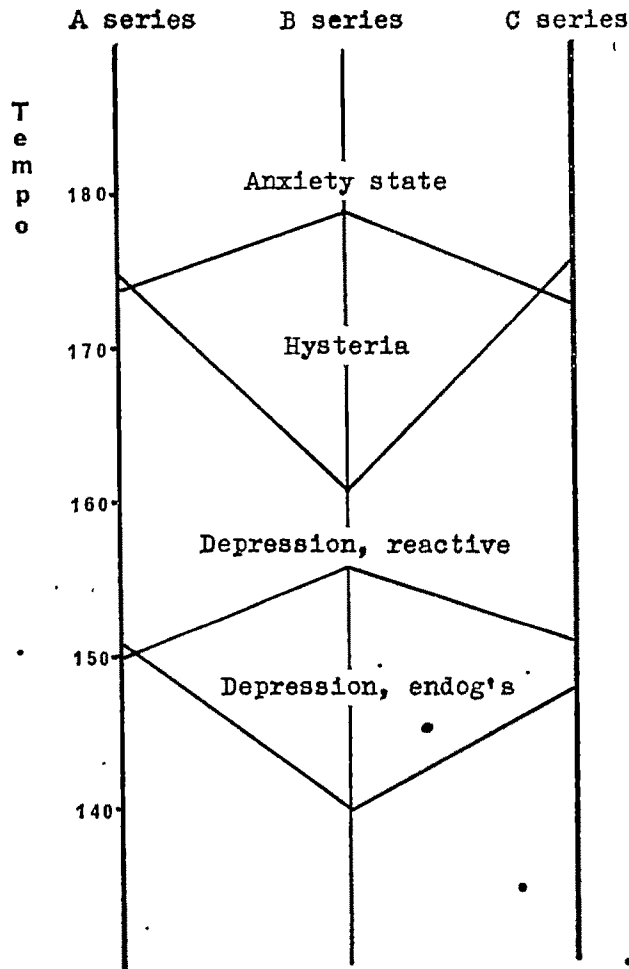


FIGURE I

Mean tempo scores of psychiatric patients classified by primary diagnostic category. Stress reaction is shown by direction and gradient of lines joining series mean tempo scores.

psychomotor test designed by Venables, with results as shown in Figure 1.

In this test a complex task is sandwiched between similar tasks less complex and less rapidly presented, so that the central task presents a more stressful situation. Subjects are found to be differentiated both by general level of response (tempo) and by reaction to change of task (stretto). It will be seen from Figure 1 that patients diagnosed anxiety-state were found to differ from endogenous depressives in both respects, from reactive depressives in tempo only, and from hysterics in stretto only. Hysterics differed from reactive depressives in both respects, from endogenous depressives in tempo only. Depressives differed from each other only in manner of reaction to stress.

Venables recorded results for a low-skilled industrial male sample and for hospitalised neurotic patients. He checked the correlation of the psychomotor test variables with general intelligence and with factors of introversion-extroversion and neuroticism, with results discussed below.

In a description of depression, Zimmer and Foy (1960) list slow perceptual-motor reaction time, slow and inhibited motility of skeletal muscle, minimal interaction with other persons, minimal expression of feelings, detachment from the environment, diminished sex-interest, low suggestibility, and subjective feelings ranging from boredom to despair. This does not suggest the likelihood of physically violent behaviour in a social situation. But depressed patients have been found more proficient in reaction co-ordination tests than other patients or normals (Wulfeck 1941). Depression appears to narrow the field of consciousness, sharpening the focus and stabilising attention. The depressive, when roused from apathy, may then be exceptionally likely to disregard the broader implications of a frustrating social situation.

The Zimmer-Foy description, in accordance with the view of many psychiatrists, makes no distinction between endogenous (psychotic, cyclic, melancholic) and reactive (neurotic) depression. The distinction is supported by factorial studies of Kiloh and Garside (1963), Rosenthal and Gudeman (1967), and (with additional refinements) the researches organised by Professor Jean Delay.

The violent action most commonly feared from the endogenous depressive is suicide. Durkheim, who argued the social causation of suicide, distinguished between egoistic and anomic forms. He showed egoistic suicide as moving statistically in the opposite direction to

homicide, whereas the figures for anomic suicide varied concomitantly with the record of violence against other persons. The depressive condition and weak integration of the individual in society are seen as common to both forms. In the case of egoistic suicide Durkheim noted also a weakening of family integration.

The distinction between egoistic and anomic suicide may correspond to a distinction between personalities liable to succumb to endogenous and reactive forms of depression. The actions of the endogenous depressive are explained by the psychiatrist mainly in terms of relationships of long standing within the family; those of the reactive depressive involve reference to the contemporary social environment, as do those also of the anomic suicide, and of the criminal whose responses are positively correlated with those of the reactive depressive.

If the endogenous depressive corresponds to the egoistic and the reactive depressive to the anomic type, then the latter would be expected to preponderate in a violent crime group, while the former would not be expected to contribute more to the violent than to any other crime group.

Empirical Procedure

Subjects

A sample of 197 male offenders aged between 15.5 and 21.0 years was interviewed individually by the writer at a remand centre where they were held in custody for a brief period, pending sentence, after conviction, by courts situated over a large area of London and South-East England. Approximately 10 per cent. of the total consisted of immigrants who had left Ireland, and their family there, after completion of schooling. A lesser number had left homes in Scotland, Wales or other parts of England. About 7 per cent. were first or second generation immigrants from relatively remote countries or cultures—Negro or Hindu West Indians, Pakistani, Turkish Cypriots, one lad of mixed Dutch and Sinhalese descent (fully assimilated—his father had served in the R.A.F. as a pilot), one Spaniard; or children of mixed white and coloured parentage born in the United Kingdom. All subjects spoke English readily.

Random sampling of intake was not possible without disorganisation of the functions of the remand centre. Subjects were therefore selected, independently of the experimenter, by the Assistant Psycholo-

gists, with a view to providing a representative sample without throwing the spanner of externally-directed research into the centre's machinery. In order to check whether the sample thus selected was in fact representative, a comparison was made between frequency distributions of scores of the first 75 subjects interviewed and of a 10 per cent. random sample of the total population which had entered over the same period as the 75, the scores being given on six tests routinely administered to all entrants by the Psychometric Department of the centre. These tests were entitled (1) Matrices (Raven's), (2) Abstractions, (3) Literacy, (4) Mechanical Aptitude (Bennett), (5) Arithmetic, (6) Space Perception. No significant differences were found, by χ^2 , between the selected and the random sample on any of these tests.

Procedure

Interviews took place in a small room from which conversation could not be overheard, but the occasional noise of passing trains prevented effective tape-recording of speech. The subject was seated before the psychomotor test apparatus; rapport was established by reference to it; he was informed (by official requirement) that the test was voluntary, and that, if taken, the results would not be reported to the Governor or the magistrate or in any way affect the sentence of the court. One lad then refused to take the test. On consent, the test was administered, in the standardised manner described in the report of an earlier research (Anthony, 1960) in which the subjects were R.A.F. recruits to ground trades during the period of national service. On completion of the test, a brief questionnaire was orally administered, the responses being recorded in long or shorthand by the experimenter, after abandonment of the attempt at tape-recording.

The psychomotor test •

The apparatus has been described by Venables, who designed the original model, and by Anthony (1960); the description is not therefore repeated in full. The subject is required to move a knob in a horizontal slot, in response to light signals which appear above markers placed right and left of centre behind the slot. He is instructed to move to one or other marker and back to centre as quickly as he can, and wait at the central marker for the next light signal. The slot extends beyond the markers, so that he may overshoot or fall short of the target.

Light signals are presented in automatically determined paced

sequence, each signal being preceded by an auditory click. Three series of signals are given without intervening break. In the first and third series, single white lights appear at two-second intervals. In the intermediate series, given at the rate of 1.5 per second, every fifth signal is identical with the corresponding signal in the first and third sequence, but the rest are more complex, employing, in columns like miniature traffic-signals, lights showing green, red, YES and NO as well as the white, in various combinations. The appropriate response is correspondingly less simple. But only the responses to the fifth signals, identical with those presented in A and C sequences, are subsequently scored.

Before the test proper, practice is given, presenting the test signal-sequences at three-second intervals. Response is supervised in a non-standardised manner, to ensure that the standardised instructions are understood. Between practice and test the subject may ask questions. He is told that the signals will be presented more rapidly in the test proper.

Score

The knob handled by the subject is the top of a pen which traces a record of his response on paper moving, out of his sight, at 1 cm. per second. (No satisfactory method of automating the measurement of response had been designed at the date of this research.) From the graphic record, every fifth response is measured in respect of amplitude (sideways extent, E) and time taken (T). This gives ten measures of E and T for each series of fifty signals. The ratio of these summed E and T measures is calculated for each series, A, B, and C. This ratio, logged to base e and multiplied by 100, gives the score, or *tempo*.

Before summing of E or T measures, the individual E/T ratio is obviously a measure of speed. The ratio of the summed values is a measure akin to speed. In the R.A.F. sample the distribution of the summed E/T ratio was positively skewed. Logging gave an approximately normal distribution.

Reaction to stress is measured by the difference between tempo on the central (B) series and on A and C series. The individual's response to the identical A and C series tends to be similar, so that *stretto* scores A-B and B-C tend to be equal in amount and opposite in sign. But, as Heraclitus emphasised, in time there is no identical repetition of process. *Stretto* A and *stretto* C scores are in fact seldom

exactly equal nor invariably opposite in direction, as may be seen from Figure II.

The questionnaire

The final form of the questionnaire was determined only after some questions had been tried out and discarded. Results have not yet been fully analysed. The third question, generally taken by the subject to refer to occupation ("What do you want to be and do?") was used throughout.

Official records

Remand Centre file. After the interviewing session the subjects' filed records were seen; scores on cognitive tests were noted; age, height, weight, etc. were checked. Brief medical reception check lists were available and in a few cases reports by medical, social or probation officers were filed, but as such data were not available for all subjects they were not used for numerical analyses.

Crime Records. After completion of interviewing at the remand centre, information on individual crime records was obtained from the Crime Record Office. The description of crimes is that used by the C.R.O. Records were received for 182 cases. When the psychomotor test failed to provide results owing to mechanical and administrative error, records were in some cases not requested.

Results

Psychomotor Test

From the total of 197 lads interviewed 171 complete and eight incomplete records were obtained. Nine of the complete losses were due to mechanical defect or administrative error; nine others were due to the subject's mental disorder. The proportion (4.6 per cent.) of the sample too disordered to give response in the scoreable range may be compared with the corresponding loss of 12.7 per cent. in the experimenter's earlier sample of psychiatric patients who had been selected as not too disturbed to take the test. No such cases were recorded in R.A.F. samples, who, of course, had been selected as fit for military service by National Service Medical Boards. Of the nine incapable cases in the remand centre sample, one had a record of skull fracture and one an EEG indicating temporal lobe epilepsy.

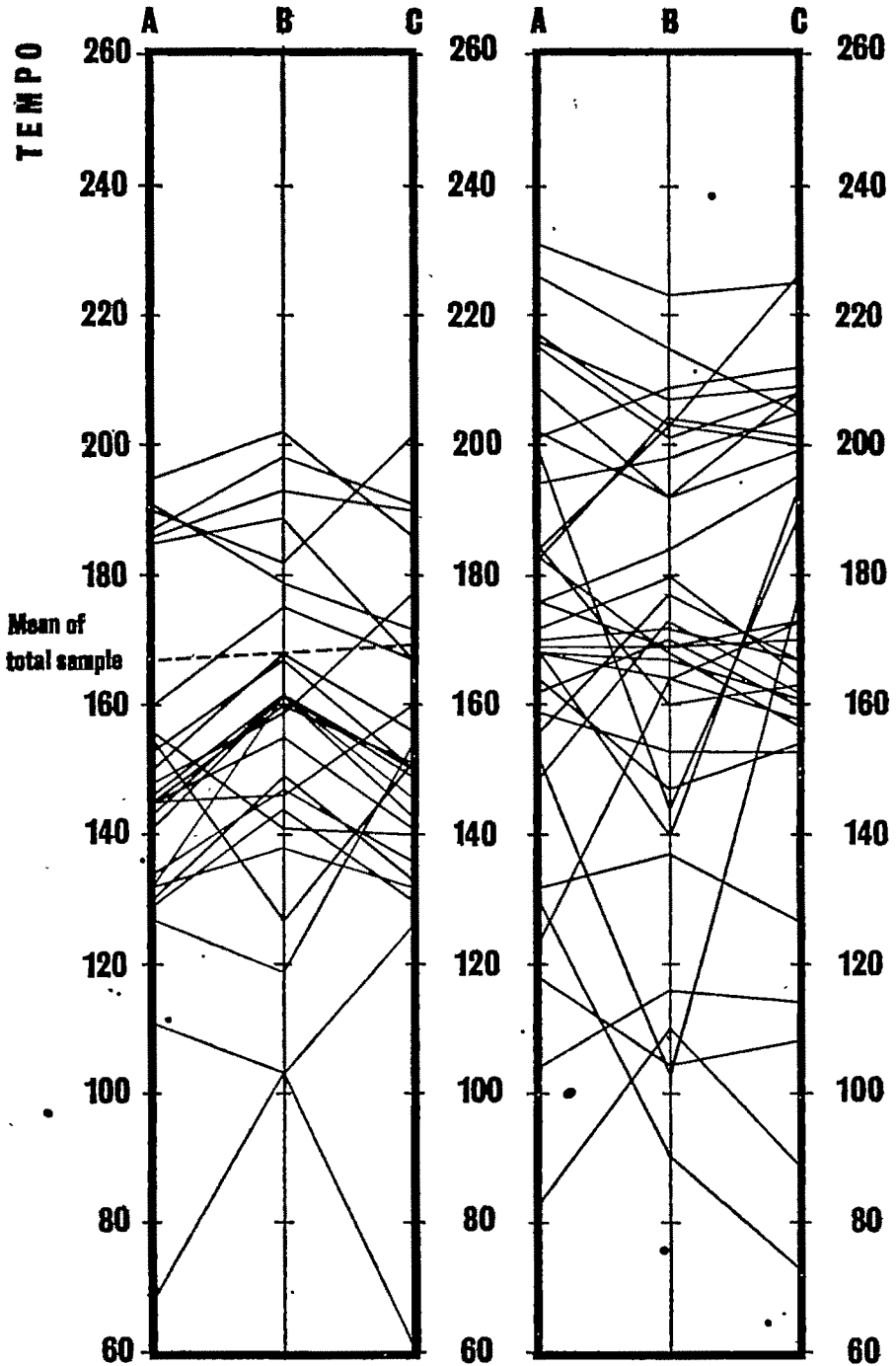
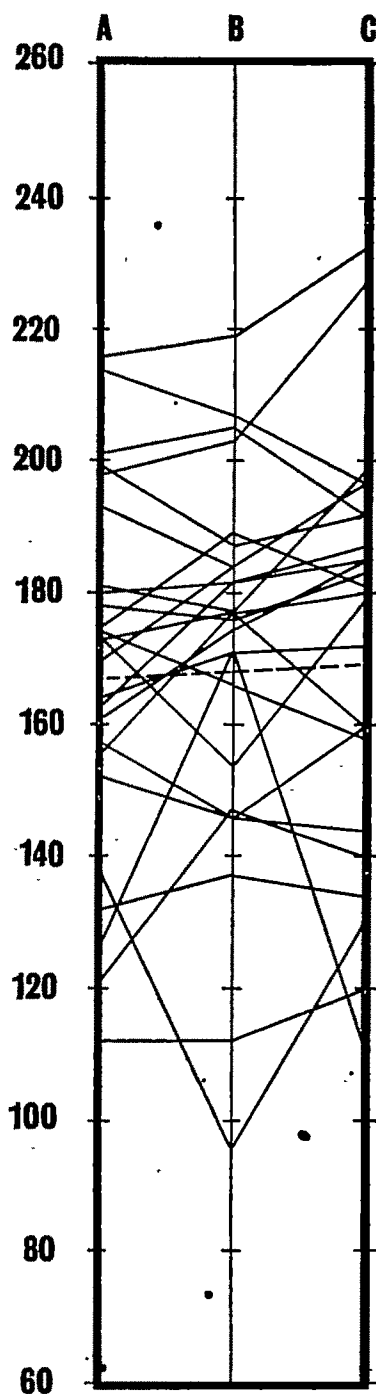


FIGURE II

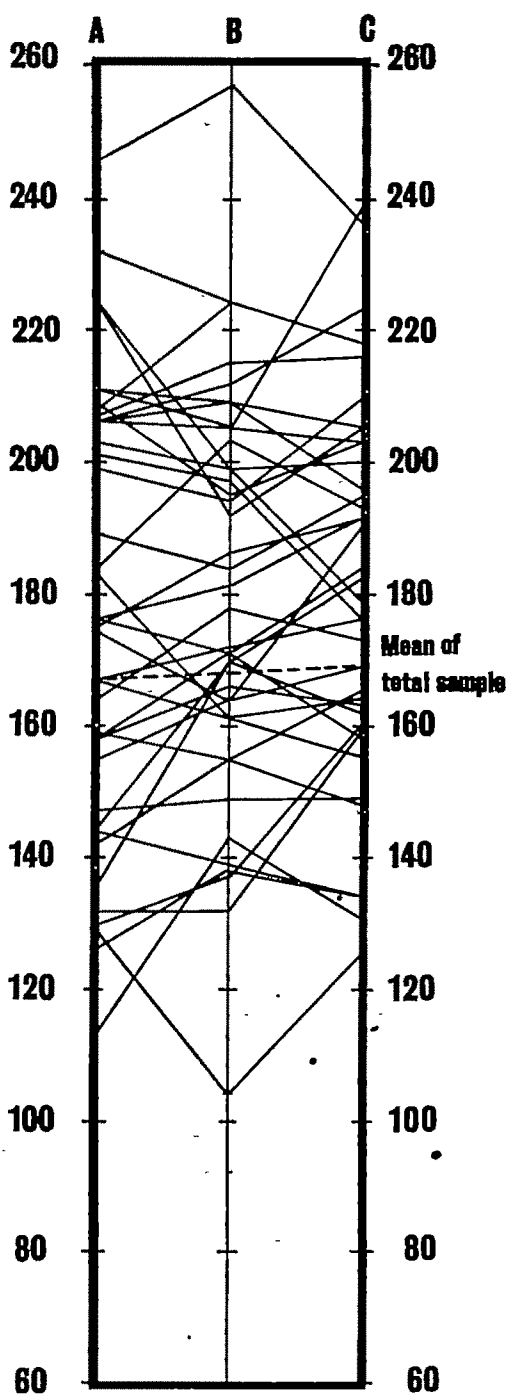
Crime Group 1 (Assault)

Crime Group 2 (a) Breaking & Entering, no record of Assault nor of M/V offences.

ASSOCIATION OF VIOLENCE AND DEPRESSION IN YOUNG OFFENDERS



Crime Group 2 (b) Breaking & Entering & M/V offences; no record of Assault.



Crime Group 3. M/V offences; no record of Assault, Breaking & Entering or Wilful Damage.

General intelligence and psychomotor tempo

The Pearson product-moment correlation between tempo on A-series and the Matrices test of general ability showed $r = +0.12$ ($n = 173$), of which the probability of chance occurrence is more than 5 per cent. The result confirmed findings in previous researches (Venables, 1955; Anthony, 1960). In the latter research, relationship with stretto measures was also interpreted as non-significant.

Recidivism and psychomotor response

No association was found between number of convictions on the crime record and tempo or stretto scores.

Distribution by type of crime

More than 70 per cent. of the sample had been convicted of more than one type of crime. Distribution of subjects cross-classified by type of crime is shown in Table 1. Crimes of rare occurrence such as arson, sacrilege, indecency, which were not recorded as the sole offence of any individual, have not been separately listed. The diagonal cells of the table show the number convicted of only the type of crime listed at the head of the column—not necessarily only on one occasion. At the column's foot is shown the number of subjects whose conviction record included the crime specified at the column's head. The

TABLE 1
Distribution of sample by type of crime, cross-classified

Type of Crime	Assault	Wilful Damage Threat Insult	Offensive Weapon	Breaking and Entering etc.*	Larceny Fraud Receiving	M/V**	Drugs
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	<u>1</u>	5	3	14	21	11	2
2	5	<u>2</u>	4	8	12	12	1
3	3	4	<u>2</u>	10	19	8	2
4	14	8	10	<u>4</u>	71	33	5
5	21	13	19	71	<u>34</u>	70	9
6	11	12	8	33	70	<u>10</u>	3
7	2	1	2	5	9	3	<u>1</u>
Total	28	18	22	80	161	85	10

* Including convictions for carrying housebreaking implements by night or/and suspected of loitering with intent to commit a crime.

** Most frequently convicted of taking and driving away a motor vehicle without the owner's consent.

total number of men represented in the table is 182. In each offence-class, the number interviewed was more, and the number fully tested somewhat less than the total entered in Table 1.

Tempo by type of crime

Preliminary observation suggested that the tempo of the Assault group of Table 1 was lower than that of the Motor Vehicle offenders' group, and this proved to be the case. Some of the Assault group had used violence in order to escape arrest; the mean tempo of this sub-group was found not to differ significantly from that of the rest of the group. Some had a record of both M/V and violent offences. This sub-group also showed non-significantly different mean tempo from the rest of the Assault group.

The whole sample was then studied, first in crime groups with overlapping membership, then in exclusive groups with priorities as shown in the headings of Table 2. The results differed little. Only the latter will therefore be reported here. (In a study previously reported (Anthony, 1967b) the Wilful Damage group was included with the Assault group. Here they are included in group II unless they also had on record a conviction for Assault.)

Tempo means and variances of crime groups are shown in Table 2. Variance did not significantly differ between groups within series or within groups between series. Variance on B-series tends to be consistently less than on A-series and with one exception less than on C-series, within each group. Mean scores differed significantly, the Assault group showing extremely low tempo, the M/V group the highest of the sample. The Assault group's mean scores on all series differed significantly from that of the sample as a whole.

General intelligence by type of crime

On Matrices Test of general ability, the M/V group (III) was found significantly superior to group I ($p < 0.05$) and group II ($p < 0.02$). No other differences approached 5 per cent. level. It will be noted that the pattern of intelligence differentiation is not identical with the pattern of tempo differentiation. The mean Matrices score of group I differs less than one point from that of the total sample. (P approx. 0.80.)

Stress reaction and type of crime

In crime group III (M/V) no characteristic stress reaction appeared. In crime group I (Assault) the characteristic stress reaction was to

TABLE 2
Tempo by type of crime

Crime group *		I		II		III		IV		Total Sample	
Tempo		Mean	Variance	Mean	Variance	Mean	Variance	Mean	Variance	Mean	Variance
S e r i e s	A	149		171***		178***		159°		167**	
			773		800		1028		1047		1065
	B	157	620	170*	851	179**	930	161°	899	168*	984
	C	153	833	174**	965	181***	897	161°°	1052	169*	1072
Total N		26		65		39		41		171	

* Notes: Crime Group:

I The individual record shows at least one conviction for assault.

II The individual record shows at least one conviction for breaking and entering premises, and/or carrying housebreaking implements by night, and/or suspected loitering with intent to commit a crime, and/or wilful damage, but none for assault.

III The individual record shows at least one conviction for taking and driving away a motor vehicle without the owner's consent, and/or driving without insurance or licence, and/or while disqualified and/or other motoring offences, but none for crimes under I or II above.

IV The individual record shows no convictions for crimes listed under I-III above.

Probability of difference from corresponding mean of group I is * <0.05 , ** <0.01 , *** <0.001
from corresponding mean of group III is ° <0.02 , °° <0.01

increase speed under stress (69 per cent.) and to reduce speed on relief from stress (77 per cent.). This pattern of reaction resembles that observed in reactive depressives.

Tempo and cultural variants

Tempo scores of culturally variant groups are shown in Table 3. It must be stressed that these groupings have no genetic basis. Irish lads living with their families in the United Kingdom were not placed in the Irish immigrant group. The "coloured" group was ethnically and in geographic origin heterogeneous. Eight of its members (one a Hindu) had been born in the West Indies, four had been born and educated in the United Kingdom.

The mean scores of the Irish immigrant and the coloured group differed significantly ($p < 0.01$). The latter showed higher average tempo than the highest crime group (M/V, Table 2), while the former

TABLE 3
Culturally variant groups: tempo and variance

Group	Irish post-school immigrant		Coloured		Others		Total	Sample
Parameter Series	$\bar{x}$	s^2	$\bar{x}$	s^2	$\bar{x}$	s^2	$\bar{x}$	s^2
A	150		183**		167*		167*	
B	151	979	180*	873	169*	1058	168*	1065
C	151	508	184**	858	171**	1058	169**	984
		620		442		1181		1072
N		18		14		139		171

Note: Difference from Irish group * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

TABLE 4
Occupational status, actual and desired by crime group
Convictions include

	Assault and/or wilful damage Threat Insult.		Breaking and entering etc. but not I		M/V Offences but not I or II		Not specified in I, II or III		Total Sample
	I		II		III		IV		
Occupation	Actual	Want	Actual	Want	Actual	Want	Actual	Want	Actual
Unskilled	61	22	63	15	50	8	54	13	58
Semi-skilled	32	49	22	42	20	25	18	35	22
Skilled or prof: or own business	7	17	13	29	30	58	24	31	18
Beatnik	0	7	2	7	0	7	4	11	2
Don't know	0	5	0	7	0	2	0	10	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	41		55		40		46		182

showed mean tempo approximately that of the lowest (Assault group, Table 2). These resemblances were not attributable to over-representation of either cultural group in the crime group which they more nearly resembled.

Occupational status and aim by type of crime

The sample studied under this head is increased by inclusion of subjects for whom psychomotor test results were not fully available because of mechanical or administrative error. Men with convictions for wilful damage or threatening behaviour were placed in group I, not in group II. Differences between crime groups are significant for current status ($p < 0.02$) and for aim ($p < 0.01$). The occupational status of over 80 per cent. of the sample was reckoned as below skilled level, and it was estimated that 52 per cent. did not aim higher, though many of the general labourers were anxious for "a trade" or "security." In groups I and II both these percentages were higher but in group III (M/V) they were lower; only 33 per cent. aimed at future work *below* skilled level (which here includes professional, executive, or own business). In all groups at least 7 per cent. wanted a non-industrial or irresponsible existence, here classed as *Beatnik*.

Violence reference in questionnaire responses

Violence was referred to by 19 out of 180 subjects (10.6 per cent.) of whom six had a record of conviction for violence, so that such reference was made by 22 per cent. of the violent group. Attitudes ranged from the vindictive: "The boy what told my name and address, I'll have it in for him," to the unaggressive "I'm not a violent type; to see violence makes me nervous," from a junior Falstaff weighing 240 lbs. Gangs, bullies and stabbing were mentioned, unfavourably, by five subjects who had no conviction for violence. A tendency to pugnacity was frequently condoned, however, or counted as a virtue, e.g., "I like to help people out, my best mate in a fight, for instance." References by the violent might be straightforward: (I dislike) "fighting, but it was often my fault," or suggestive of projection (I dislike) "violence between nations"; "violence against Negroes in Alabama" (not the response of a coloured man).

Discussion

The initial hypothesis

A record which includes conviction for violence appears in this sample of young offenders to be positively associated with depression

as measured by perceptual-motor response-speed (*i.e.*, with low tempo) and more particularly with reactive depression, measured by manner of perceptual-motor reaction to stress.

Comparison of the total sample with Venables' industrial sample

The mean tempo (A) of Venables' industrial sample was the same as that of our crime group III (M/V offenders with no record of violence, breaking and entering or wilful damage), namely 5.93 unlogged, 178 logged to base *e*. The mean tempo (B) of his sample was the same as that of the total remand centre sample, namely 5.38 unlogged, 168 logged.

Correlation with extroversion and neuroticism

Venables' 1955 research was carried out with reference to Eysenck's factorial dimensions of introversion/extroversion and neuroticism. On the neuroticism co-ordinate, anxiety-state and reactive or neurotic depression appear together at one extreme. On the tempo (Venables' R/W) continuum, by Davis's revised interpretation and our own independent findings, they are at opposite poles. No significant correlation between scores on the two functions is therefore to be expected if these findings are accepted, nor did it appear in Venables' correlation of them. Using Hildebrand's test battery Venables likewise found no significant correlation between intro-extroversion and tempo.

Extreme extroverts are found to be hysterically neurotic and extreme introverts anxiety-neurotic. Hysterics and anxiety-neurotics react differently on the psychomotor test (see Figure 1). Consistently with these observations, Venables found low but significant correlation (0.15) between I/E and both stretto scores (R/W_{A-B} and R/W_{B-C}). Extroverts, hysterics and the delinquents in Venables' sample tended to increase speed on relief from stress. R.A.F. delinquent tradesmen also showed this pattern of stress reaction. The remand centre offenders with records of assault, however, reacted to stress in the opposite way; yet there seems no reason to hypothesise that they are introverts conditioned in a sub-culture of violence. In view of the low correlation between I/E and psychomotor stress-reaction it would be rash to deduce that either of these groups demonstrated extroversion or introversion.

Interpretation of stress-reaction

Psychomotor response speed under stress tends to approach mean

tempo relative to speed both before and after stress. It appears as though, when the stimulus to voluntary action is more complex or rapid, arousal level normally tends to be reduced in the temperamentally over-active and increased in the temperamentally apathetic, so as to produce the individual's optimum arousal level for performance of the requisite action. The present test does not provide the parameters for checking this hypothesis with reference to the U-curve of activation or the Yerkes-Dodson law.

The observed pattern suggested the operation of processes similar to those which, in researches initially inspired by Spence and Taylor (1953), differentiated subjects of high and low manifest anxiety level, and led the writer in an earlier study (1960) to identify tempo with anxiety. Later work with psychiatric patients showed that that identification would only hold if the term *anxiety* were restricted to non-pathological manifestations, for whereas, under stress, normal individuals of high tempo tend to reduce speed of response, the anxiety-neurotic tends to increase it. Likewise at the other end of the tempo scale the endogenous depressive tends to "drift to extremes" and, under stress, to register even lower tempo.

Subcultural delinquency

The total sample, remanded from courts in London and a considerable area of South-East England, included a number of lads from East London. Downes (1966) has studied the behaviour of young delinquents in East London with special reference to theories of sub-culture. He has shown the difficulties involved in applying the concept of sub-culture within the population studied. He concluded that there was little evidence to support a theory of the existence of a sub-culture of delinquency in the area studied, of the kind described in the American studies of A. K. Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin.

Verbal responses to a brief questionnaire (to be analysed in a separate report) frequently indicated the delinquent's acceptance, not necessarily uncritical, of the dominant cultural ethic, and of himself as a member of this culture despite his delinquency. The following examples are all drawn from crime group 1 and all are East Londoners.

- (1) "When I fought, it was always after drinking. Where I come from there's nothing else to do."
- (2) "The things I've done've all been silly things."
- (3) "I'm R.C.—at least I used to be . . . but since I've been going to work I've been drawing away from it. . . . *Except the*

Ten Commandments all the rest is made up by man. Who's got the right to say you've got to do this or that?" (Repeated with emphasis.)

The conventional virtues claimed by the young English offender are kindness to children and animals and being "free with my money." These may mask impulses to be unkind to adult humans and to disregard distinctions between *meum* and *tuum*, but the claim itself suggests acceptance of cultural rather than sub-cultural ethics. As one lad said, "I like to give away things I haven't got": Robin Hood is the ideal.

On one issue, however, our data led to conclusions different from those of Downes. The *dissociation from the goal of occupational achievement* which he describes as general, we found relatively rare; but admittedly in many cases the goal was very near the starting point. We found that the unskilled worker often wants "a trade," but is unwilling, or believes himself unable, to qualify to train for it in any formal way. Frustration of his genuine if limited occupational ambition appeared to us a frequent contributory cause of delinquent behaviour in the form of assault, wilful damage or breaking and entering. This question has been more fully discussed in another paper. (Anthony 1967b.)

Depression

Frustration of occupational aim was observed in many of the remand centre sample, most markedly in crime groups I and II. In crime group I it was associated with depression. It was also associated with depression among the Irish post-school immigrants, whose rate of conviction for crimes of violence was not significantly higher than that of the sample as a whole. Adolf Meyer is said to have observed among Irish immigrants in the U.S.A. what he called an *Hibernian psychosis*, presenting clinically as a mixed depressive-paranoid reaction (Davies). Referring to this, a psychiatrist stated that he found Irish patients in Ireland no different from English patients in England in respect of depression. McClintock and Gibson (1961) found that, among men convicted of robbery in London, the Irish were generally first offenders. It seems that the conditions of immigrant life tend to turn the young homeless Irishman to depression and crime.

The relation of occupational and sexual aims, and of both with depression, is complex. The young man can generally earn more immediate income, at the cost of possible future security, by taking

unskilled employment; he may therefore abandon occupational ambition for or after marriage. Some young offenders find themselves frustrated at every turn. A young Irish immigrant convicted, as a first offender, of shopbreaking and larceny, physically well set up, with deep masculine voice, had sought work on building sites, but "they do be full up. . . . Even in Russia they're now getting unemployment. . . I'm not interested in girls . . . it's meself, me own life, I'm worrying about in here." His tempo score was at depressive level, the stress reactions extreme. The lack of interest in girls, rare in the remand centre sample, appeared to be a symptom of his depression.

Conclusion

In investigation of the personality of a delinquent, indications of depression should be noted and if possible tested non-verbally, its sources sought and its consequences appraised.

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ROLE CONFLICT AMONG POLICE JUVENILE LIAISON OFFICERS

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As an introduction to a paper of this kind it must be pointed out that the work is intended to be suggestive rather than definitive; that the research on which the main conclusions are based was originally intended only as an illustrative supplement to a wider, statistically based, research programme.[†] Secondly, and at risk of pedantry, the writer's conceptual framework must be sketched in. As Levinson (1961) and others¹ have pointed out, the words *role conflict* refer to an *area of study*, and attempts to define such conflict in terms of a single unitary notion or concept have the disastrous effects of at the same time increasing theoretical dissension and limiting and reducing a potentially fruitful research field. The theory of conflict on which this paper is based has been discussed elsewhere and need not be repeated (Cain, 1968). Suffice it to say here that *interdependence* between ego and his counter-positions is seen as the primary determinant of the direction of conflict solution, though there are other identifiable intervening variables which may either influence ego's actions directly or affect a temporary shift in relative interdependence at any given time. An attempt will be made not to confuse such concepts as actual expectations and perceived expectations or perceived conflict and experienced stress, to name but two examples of the dangers of a blanket theory and a blanket terminology which are common in the literature.

In October 1963 an experimental Police Juvenile Liaison Scheme was established in one independent borough and the surrounding part of a county police force. It was agreed that Manchester University

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† The research was directed by Dr. A. G. Rose, Social Administration Dept., University of Manchester. Thanks are due both to Dr. Rose and to Mr. Eric Woods for permission to use certain of their data. The research programme received the financial support of the Home Office. The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of any other individual or authority involved. Some generalisations are also made on the basis of ten months field work previously carried out by the author with a city and a county police force, of which a detailed description cannot be given here. In particular these concern references to police values and aspects of police-work other than juvenile liaison.

¹ Cf. also for example Gross *et al.* (1958) and Banton (1964, 1965).

should work in close co-operation with both forces in an attempt to assess the effectiveness of this method of dealing with children who infringe, or who are in danger of infringing, the law. For comparative and evaluative purposes two other forces were also studied by a field worker, and case reports collected from them. Details of the formal methods of operation of Juvenile Liaison (J.L.) Schemes are available in a booklet published by Liverpool City Police (1962); here it is sufficient to say that following a caution a period of supervision by an especially designated police officer (J.L.O.) is carried out. The aim, ostensibly, is to prevent the child from offending again and thereby appearing before the court.

The four forces studied were variously organised. In one department (A) there were 17 male J.L.O.s² who operated in ones and twos from divisional and sub-divisional police stations throughout the city, subject only to a rather nebulous central control from senior officers in the crime prevention department. Force B had three male and two female officers with a non-operational officer of higher rank in charge. The experimental scheme operated from two offices in a county area (C) and from one in the central police station in a borough (D). At the main county office there were one female and one male J.L.O. together with a Chief Inspector who supervised the operation of juvenile liaison throughout the county. Associated with this there was one male J.L.O. working from a sub-divisional office in a neighbouring small town. In the borough office there were one operational male sergeant and a female constable. Here there was no formal supervision. As a result of a policy decision concerning priorities, a period of only three months was spent by a field worker (the writer) observing the J.L.O.s in action.

The Police Value System—Punitive Orientation

"To prevent the child from offending again and thereby appearing before the courts . . ." Stated thus simply the aim of the J.L.O.s is in direct conflict with the immediate operational aim of the police as a whole *vis-à-vis* malefactors (Skolnick and Woodworth, 1967: 129-131). The italicised qualification is important. The police have other functions and other roles, not necessarily directly related to malefactors³; they are concerned with public order in a much wider sense

² In this force there was no contact with the women J.L.O.s who worked from a central office and were functionally independent of the men, each officer being responsible for girls involved in the scheme from one or two divisional catchment areas.

³ The first entry in the training manual given to probationary constables gives the following definition of police work—"the primary object of an efficient police force is the

than this; they are concerned with "the protection of life and property"; they are concerned too with the prevention of crime, and this provides the *raison d'être* of J.L. schemes. But J.L. departments differ from other crime prevention departments in that they do deal daily and directly with malefactors. From the police point of view they might therefore be expected to operate within the traditional police value system and to conform to the norms governing interactions between policemen and known offenders.

The operational aims of the police in this area then are: first, to carry out "the important symbolic rights of search, chase, and capture" (*ibid.*); secondly, to bring the offenders before the court; and, thirdly, to ensure that offenders are ultimately dealt with in a satisfactory manner. The only measureable and visible end products of the policeman's work in relation to malefactors are number of offences "cleared up," number of offenders convicted, and length of sentence. Satisfaction in the achievement of the first two goals is largely dependent on the policeman's own technical ability, particularly if he is a member of a detective department. His control over the achievement of the third goal is negligible, for although he has some power within the court room, this is more closely relevant to the securing of a conviction than to the passing of a sentence. Yet if the courts discharge or otherwise deal leniently with an offender the police feel that their work in the first two stages is being undermined and its value denigrated. On the other hand a more severe sentence is seen as providing external support and justification. The endemic frustration in terms of the group value system is often highlighted in the case of young offenders, with whom the courts are notably more "lenient." (There does not seem to be the same feeling about the courts' similarly less punitive treatment of women.)

The Welfare Orientation

If structural factors of this kind serve to focus certain group attitudes of the police in a relatively punitive direction, equally powerful factors are tugging the J.L.O. in an opposite direction. And the situation is complicated by the fact that he is required to deal with a group of

prevention of crime; the next that of detection and *punishment* [my italics] of offenders if crime is committed." This paper does not seek to denigrate or deny the efforts of the police in preventive and service directions. In speaking of "police" aims, values, and institutional goals one is speaking of standards over and above specific attitudes—at a higher level of abstraction—to which a large majority of the policemen engaged either in patrol work, or in work more directly and regularly concerned with malefactors, would be prepared to subscribe.

people who already provide a focus of frustration in the police force by reason of the courts' reluctance to subject them to purely disciplinary measures.

The first factor producing a different emphasis in the attitudes of the J.L.O.s is that the formal definition of his tasks is different. J.L.O.s play a minor part in the apprehension of offenders, although they remain in touch with their colleagues in terms of the general information which policemen need to control the crime situation. They do, however, have a very real interest in establishing the facts of a delinquency, and there is thus no conflict in this area. Unless a child is referred by parents or school or can in some other way be treated as a potential delinquent, a J.L.O. can do nothing until he has technically committed an offence which would make him liable to a court appearance. This limitation has an advantage in that the latent sanction helps in overcoming the initial resistance of child and family to the idea of supervision.

The real divergence from police values and institutional goals³ comes at the second stage and derives from the fact of supervision. Formally the J.L.O.s duties are an extension of the police role of crime prevention, but normally this would be subordinate to the duty of bringing offenders before the court. On the other hand, once a *prima facie* case has been established it is the task of the J.L.O. to keep his charges out of court.

Another complication is introduced by the existence in the J.L.O.s case-load of considerable numbers of "potential offenders." These fall mainly into two classes: those who have not committed an offence but who are being "difficult," and those in whose case it might be established that they have committed an offence. But it would seriously imperil the good relations between J.L.O.s and schools, in particular, if all these children were officially recorded as having offended. In three of the forces studied this has led to a situation in which all cases referred from an outside agency are treated as potential delinquents, whatever the reason for referral. In those cases where there is an offence it is not recorded as a crime. "The classification category of potential delinquent thus contains three distinct groups, namely

1. children under the age of criminal responsibility;
2. children who have not committed an offence but are felt to be in need of assistance and supervision;

3. children who have technically committed an offence but who are reported in confidence by some outside agency.

Children who are referred to the scheme through normal police channels are classified as delinquent if they do not fall into either of the first two groups. These children would in any case have been recorded as offenders and their offences as 'crimes cleared up.'⁴

The treatment of the third group here involves the greatest discrepancy with traditional police values and practice. These offenders are not taken to court, nor is the opportunity taken simultaneously to record and "clear up" their offences and thus to boost the crime detection figures. In this respect it must be noted too that, whereas the effectiveness of a criminal investigation department may be judged by its detection and conviction rates, a juvenile liaison department will tend to be judged in terms of its re-conviction rate, or the proportion of children it *keeps away from* court. Both tests are, of course, equally partial and unfair, but the figures represent the only "hard" facts in the situation.

The conflict between the police⁵ and the J.L.O.s over the third goal is not *formally* defined in the same way. The "welfare orientation" of the J.L.O. results from structural properties of his work situation. The J.L.O.s are in the same position as all those who work on the basis of building up personal relationships; they are very dependent on goodwill. It is part of the formal tasks of the J.L.O. to carry out liaison work with schools and social work agencies as well as parents and others. A modicum of value consensus is plainly a pre-requisite for adequate communication with these people, and more than a modicum is required in order to elicit their active co-operation. There was a certain amount of suspicion of the J.L. Scheme on the part of both head teachers and social workers in its early stages of operation (Cain and Dearden, 1966). Other unpublished data from the Manchester study suggest an increasing amount of contact with time, while meetings between the J.L.O.s and head teachers or social workers which were witnessed during the field research suggested a high degree of consensus in most cases, it being customary for each to ask the other's

⁴ Taken from Letters, *New Society*, No. 232, March 9, 1967; p. 365. Letter submitted by the writer.

⁵ The C.I.D. are in the best position to act out the traditional police role, but the value system is shared by those members of the force dealing with vice and also by uniformed patrol men. Attitudes are subject to increasing modification the further the particular department moves from the regular performance of these traditional tasks, though those involved in these tasks tend to retain the highest prestige. C.I. departments and J.L. departments can thus be seen as polar types.

opinion of particular children, and for the two parties to share reminiscences of cases known to both.

Relationship with Schools

Sufficient contacts with head teachers were observed for quantification to be meaningful (N46). The purposes of the visits were as follows:

Reasons for J.L.O.s Visits to Schools

	Old established departments (A & B)	New departments (C & D)	Total
1. To introduce researcher	10	3	13
2. To get information or meet specific people	6	10	16
3. To give information	5	0	5
4. First contact following an offence	4	2	6
5. To give formal lecture or 'talk'	1	2	3
6. Other	2	1	3
	28	18	46

Five of these contacts were initiated by the school, four of them following the reporting of an offence by the school and the fifth resulting from a headmaster's invitation to attend an Open Day. Items one, three, four, and perhaps five, show some considerable familiarity with the school; item two is a formal requirement of the J.L.O.s work—the obtaining of a school report on a child to be dealt with under the scheme—and need not involve any high degree of rapport with or acceptance by the head teacher. As one might expect, a higher proportion of the contacts in the older established departments indicated a high degree of rapport.

Another indicator of the amount of rapport is the content of the conversations between the head teachers (or their representatives) and the J.L.O.s. This "measure" was appropriate for forty-three of the school visits. Apart from conversations about a particular child who had occasioned the visit, children known to both parties were discussed at twenty-eight of the meetings—ten of the "social" meetings whose primary purpose was to introduce the researcher, and eighteen of the "business" meetings. General conversation about matters unrelated to J.L.O. work took place in twenty-six of the interviews, comprised of ten "social" and sixteen "business" meetings. Topics included personal matters such as families, health, house purchase, and summer holidays as well as matters such as school building or school re-organisation schemes. In thirteen of the visits the head teacher specifically

praised the J.L. Scheme to the researcher (without prompt) while reference was made to the fact that the officer was connected with the police in only seven (16 per cent.) of the interviews. The number of interviews at which no general conversation with the head teacher took place was only six.

Such general conversation must indicate *either* an already established understanding or a search for the basis of such a rapport. It is by means of such discussions that the J.L.O.s would have been made aware of the values and range of attitudes acceptable to the head teachers and social workers—that *actual* normative expectations would become *perceived* normative expectations, and thus be transformed into a basis for action. Attendance at such gatherings as social workers' lunch clubs and youth welfare councils also gives the J.L.O.s the *opportunity* of learning a welfare orientation coincident with their increasing *need* to develop a value consensus as a basis for co-operation in the exchange of information and the referral of cases (*cf.* Cain and Dearden, *op. cit.*).

Evidence of Welfare Orientation

Neither the increasing welfare orientation of the J.L.O. nor the increase in co-operation resulting from it is susceptible to easy documentation. The present study served only to indicate the possibility of such developments. No measure of attitudes prior to joining the J.L. department was available. It seems likely that in those departments where senior J.L. personnel had some voice in the selection of new officers (as in Force C) men and women who already had a welfare orientation to some degree would be more likely to be selected. In newly established departments and departments where selection was made externally (as in Force A) the process of accommodating to and ultimately adopting the required welfare orientation would be subsequent to joining the department and would therefore be slower.

However, two pointers to a welfare orientation on the part of the J.L.O.s were identified in the course of the field study. One is the extent to which a child is *blamed* for his actions; the second is the extent to which the J.L.O.s are prepared to waive their formal rules of operation in the interests of the child. The concept of blaming here implies both holding the child entirely responsible for his actions and deeming him deserving of punishment. In this sense it is necessary to blame an offender for his actions in order to operate the traditional police role. Speed and expedition are necessary in the apprehension

of an offender, and anxieties as to whether an offender "deserves" to be caught, implying ultimate punishment, could only hamper the police in the efficient performance of their statutory tasks. Similarly, doubts and anxieties as to whether a court appearance would be "good for" the offender would produce inefficiencies in the initial stage of the judicial procedure.

J.L.O.s who blamed the children were rare, though one met occasionally an officer who defined the value of J.L.O. work solely in terms of its good effects on the police image. However, J.L.O.s who had fully adopted the casework approach of understanding behaviour in terms of the total environment both past and present and its influence upon the child's development were almost equally exceptional, and they were found mainly in the two older established forces. A more common attitude for officers—particularly those in Forces C and D, suggesting that this might be some transitional stage—was a mid-point between these two extremes. The punitive attitude was not completely dropped. The response was to *shift* rather than abandon blame, so that now the *child's parents* were deemed the guilty parties and blame attached to them. This left the officers free to form a constructive relationship with the child and isolated them neither from the social agencies with which they had to work nor from the policemen on whose co-operation as regards the exchange of information and the handing over of cases the J.L.O. also depends.

With reference to the second indicator, at least one officer in each force specifically mentioned the possibility and advisability of an occasional "stretching" of the rules in the interests of the child. To take these rules in the order in which they are set out in the Liverpool booklet (*op. cit.*), officers admitted that the upper age limit had on occasion, though rarely, been extended in the case of a boy known to them if circumstances surrounding the offence were such as to warrant this. More frequently, the rule prohibiting J.L.O.s from dealing with children technically guilty of a breaking and entering offence was waived. It was pointed out that such offences were often of a trivial nature according to a "common sense" appraisal of the situation, that the children themselves drew no such distinction between a simple larceny and a breaking offence, and that it was in any case unfair not to give children whose first known offence was of this kind the same chance as others. Data from the Manchester study show 8 per cent. of cases dealt with by the J.L. department in Force D as having committed a breaking offence. Figures elsewhere were higher. Formally

to report such offences if they came to the J.L.O.'s attention through an outside agency, such as a headmaster, would constitute a breach of confidence, and officers claimed that this could jeopardise the whole future operation of the scheme.

The third rule states that the child must admit the offence, and this was always adhered to though the admission in many cases followed questioning by the J.L.O. or the officer's presentation to the child of "evidence" of his culpability. These procedures were (rightly) justified in terms of the child's own future welfare.

The rule that the child should not previously have come to the notice of the police varies in application according to the definition of "notice." A child previously dealt with as a potential delinquent, even as a result of a technical offence, has officially *not* come to the notice of the police, and so may be dealt with a second time not only as a potential offender but also as a delinquent proper if his case is forwarded to the department through normal police channels. This does not apply to a child who is first referred to the department as a result of an offence independently known to the police. However, even for these children it may be decided not to prosecute for further offences which the child may commit while under supervision, provided, of course, that the J.L.O. is satisfied that the child is making progress and more likely to benefit from continued supervision than from a court appearance. Officers point out that an appearance at court might well result only in a discharge, with the result that the child would be beyond the scope of control or assistance from any agency. The exercise of discretion on this point and others was less common in Force D where the department was new and the officers had no one of senior rank within the department who could accept responsibility for such decisions.

Finally, parental co-operation was sometimes of the most nominal kind, and in the case of a child who had actually committed an offence the sanction in the background of court as the alternative measure was useful. The situation was a little different in Force A where, because of the large number of children involved, the caution was administered informally by a J.L.O. who would then suggest to the parent that he look in a few times in passing to see how the child was getting on. Insufficient situations of this type were observed for categorical statements to be made, but it did appear that the parents responded very readily to this more casual approach.

A further condition, not mentioned in the list, is that the complainant does not wish to prosecute. This was sacrosanct, but the most common complainants, such as the managers of large stores, were interviewed by J.L.O.s and advised of the advantages of the scheme. No situation of a complainant wishing to press for prosecution was observed.

Finally, cases where contact was maintained with boys and girls after the end of the period of formal supervision were observed in all four forces, though by no means all of the officers were involved.

Role Conflict

The forces making for such a welfare orientation have already been examined. Even in the newly established departments, over a quarter of potential delinquents were referred by schools or social workers.* J.L.O.s become increasingly dependent on these agencies to feed them cases, to give them information about the children in their care, and otherwise to assist them even to the extent, in the case of the receiving agencies, of taking over cases from them. The J.L.O. tends to perceive the child as dependent on him ("There's no one else to do it"); he also perceives teachers and social workers as dependent on him, the former for assistance with the children and the latter for information (Cain and Dearden, *op. cit.*). But there are other factors which prevent the J.L.O. from adopting fully a welfare orientation, even in the face of these strong interdependence ties with groups outside the police. These are his career links with the police and the institutional structure within which he works. The J.L.O. is an extreme example of the man operating on the boundary of his social system (Kahn, 1964: 102-114), and is classically subject to the conflicting sets of expectations which this entails. He is a policeman by choice and training, yet more of his contacts are with people in other systems than with members of his own. A J.L.O. then is in a position in which he can scarcely avoid perceiving himself to be the object of conflicting role expectations. Leaving aside for the moment the problem of consensus *within* the two main counter-positions, he will be aware of opposing expectations from members of the police force and from various social agencies. In addition there is the problem which Kahn *et al.* (*op. cit.*) have identified, that of role ambiguity. This stems from the police side. An officer may be aware of the expectations of his colleagues and his equals in rank whom he meets informally outside the department *but he does*

* See footnote 5, p. 370.

not know to what extent a welfare orientation is acceptable to the senior ranks who have power over him.

Source of power of police counter-position

This power, which maintains the police as effective role definers in spite of the potency of the counter-positions beyond the police system, has several facets. First, promotion opportunities within a small J.L. department are limited. A man who wishes to advance his career must, therefore, remain a suitable person to be a sergeant or an inspector in the wider context of general police work. He must not lay himself open to the suspicion of "going soft on offenders." He does not know whether a welfare orientation will stand him in good stead or not, but he does know that people *without* such an orientation from other branches of the service regularly get promoted. This problem may be rendered more acute by the fact that the J.L.O. may feel that he has no one weighty to speak up for him when there are vacancies in the higher ranks. This problem is overcome in Force C by having a chief inspector solely responsible for the J.L. department, but in smaller forces (B and D) the J.L. establishment does not warrant a supervisor of this rank, and in Force A the officers were acutely aware that it was nobody's job to put forward a specifically *J.L. department* point of view on any issue, including promotions.

Not only are individual officers tied to the police system by the career structure but the continuing support of the parent system is necessary to keep the department itself in being. Juvenile liaison departments constitute a non-statutory section of police forces which can be disbanded by the Chief Constable at will; the department itself is held in being by its power to prove itself satisfactory. One department (not included here) was in fact virtually wound up during the research period. Even within J.L. departments, therefore, social controls operate against the "extremist" in terms of welfare orientation, for there is a fear that he may render the whole department suspect.

Evidence of conflict

The researcher was able to observe one unfortunate situation arising from these ambiguities. In one force the officer in charge was due to retire quite shortly. Two of the officers, P and Q, were eligible to succeed him. P had been longer in the department; Q was the senior constable in terms of length of service. Two female officers

aligned themselves in accordance with this rivalry, P₁ joining forces with P and Q₁ with Q. Q was at pains to emphasise to the researcher that in the absence of the officer in charge he was the senior, but he maintained the equilibrium in the department by not emphasising the point to his colleagues. The sergeant recognised this formal authority, for example, by holding Q responsible for certain failures to keep up the books during his absence. Q resented this on the grounds that he deliberately did not throw his weight about, and in any case the others knew the rules as well as he did. The main object of his bitterness was his rival, P, but it was addressed in large part to the researcher or to Q₁. The balance of forces in the department was too even for a potentially disruptive frontal attack to be made. Q and Q₁ tended to pair together for work purposes. This pairing continued even after a re-shuffle of divisional responsibilities, so was not merely a function of geographical convenience.

The rivalry between P and Q was enhanced by their difference of orientation, P being more welfare orientated and given to more "psychological" explanations of behaviour. Since there was uncertainty as to which approach would best serve its owner's interests in the promotion contest, this difference which the department might otherwise have been able fruitfully to contain served as an additional source of mistrust and tension between the men. Each was permanently threatened by the other's approach. These major sources of dissension were not allowed to become explicit when the two sides met, but eight separate disagreements between P and Q were recorded during the month of the research. Subjects of the differences ranged from the attitude to a new canteen manager through what constitutes a good home and what sort of action a child guidance clinic might take in a given situation—(this was pure artefact; the men agreed about the end result they wanted)—to the merits and demerits of various youth organisations, Q favouring uniform and P the non-uniform variety. The "sting" had been taken out of this last difference by its institutionalisation as a departmental joke. On each occasion Q₁ sided with Q. P₁ verbally refrained from taking sides, but acted in support of P, for example, she did not boycott the canteen and she took the researcher to visit P's club. Similarly, while Q and Q₁ would jointly run down the opposition to the researcher and together discuss other "hot topics" with her, P would only speak in this manner when alone and P₁ scarcely acknowledged the differences at all. But when confronted with a difficult case on the territory of an absent male

officer she suggested that P should take it on, suggesting that he was better equipped to deal with psychological complexities involving symptoms such as soiling.

Certain safe topics existed, and operated as a safety valve. The department continued to function as a unit, and there remained sufficient consensus for cases to be discussed to some advantage. Such safe topics were grumbings about the officer in charge, praise of the diligence of P₁ and complaints about the manner in which the monthly advisory committee meetings were organised. Again, since P and Q could not agree about the value of child guidance in any *absolute* sense, they found grounds for agreement in the mutual denigration of one of the town's child guidance clinics *vis-à-vis* the other.

Response to perceived conflicting expectations

Thus in certain situations the precarious balance between the police and welfare approaches, which the J.L.O., in his uncertainty as to what is required of him, must maintain, can be disturbed. At this point the differences could be disruptive to a department. More usually, however, the officers were not forced to take sides on the issue. In general they preferred to adopt "compromise solutions" (Stouffer, 1949), to attempt to conform to both sets of expectations at least partially. *This does not necessarily mean that they experienced stress.*

One means by which these compromise solutions were achieved, the adoption of a mid-way attitude between the two points of view, has already been discussed with reference to blame. Another partial solution is offered by the lack of consensus within the two role defining groups. A J.L.O. may relate to the more punitive of his headmasters rather than to others outside the police system, and a similar mode of relating only to particular welfare orientated police officers outside the department could also be adopted. More commonly, a welfare orientated J.L.O. will deny the importance of the punitive orientation, deny in fact the whole police role in relation to malefactors, and emphasise that the police are a *service* and that there is thus no discrepancy between the work he is doing as a J.L.O. and the work of other police officers. The solution of seeing the police role itself as being primarily concerned with welfare is evidenced in such statements as "we the police don't like sending boys to court" or "our job as police is among other things to protect the general public and to protect people from themselves when they are young and perhaps foolish."

Identification with the police was shown in practice in a variety of ways. J.L.O.s also pointed out that being a policeman is positively useful and a support for them in their dealing with children, and welfare orientated officers too saw these advantages. But there was some ambivalence, as shown by the following statement: "The thing is, they trust you personally, whatever they feel about the police, and often they don't really regard you as a policeman, and yet they do—you know, they know you're a policeman and there's that little bit of authority behind it." One officer felt obliged to explain the reasons for actions taken by uniform constables when these were criticised by parents on four occasions in a single week. Two other officers presented themselves as delegates of higher police authority. On other occasions this higher police authority was used as a convenient scapegoat—"My Chief Constable won't stand for it again, you know."

Influence of role expectations of parents

In point of fact it is often a third counter-position—neither the police force nor the teachers and social workers—which forces the J.L.O.s into a "police" role. This third counter-position is made up of members of the general public, met mainly in their capacity as parents. They may complain to the J.L.O.s about the behaviour of other policemen, as in the case cited above; they may send children under supervision down to the police station when they misbehave, to see the police in general and not specifically their own J.L.O. Reference to the fact that the J.L.O. was a policeman was made by one or other of the parties in 42 per cent. of the home visits which were observed (N125) as compared, for example, with 15 per cent. of the school visits. But the power of parents as a role-defining group is more limited than the power of either of the other two counter-positions. J.L.O.s are formally dependent on parental co-operation, but in many cases they have power to exact this, given them by the sanction of an alternative court appearance. Moreover, contact with any individual family is temporary, and the need to gain co-operation in any particular case less essential. The potency of parental role definitions depends on the importance for the J.L.O. of creating an overall impression of parental co-operation, but a refusal to co-operate in any single case will be readily masked by the far greater number of acceptances. Parental role definitions in fact have power only in so far as they conform with and therefore bolster one of the two major sets of existing expectations (Gullahorn, 1956). They would

have less success in projecting a third and different set of expectations as to the J.L.O.'s role.

Stress

For stress to be experienced conflict must be perceived. Here it has been suggested that most officers are forced into a position where they must become aware of actual conflicting expectations, though they ameliorate or avoid the stress which might potentially result from this in a variety of ways. We have seen that they seek support from minority groups within counter-positions; others deny the existence of the conflict (policemen are welfare orientated); yet others deny the potency of the counter position or, more accurately, deny the legitimacy of its role definitions (policemen are not welfare orientated but they should be—it is their proper function). Aside from these are numbers of men, not yet calculated, *who are happy to live in the conflict situation*. These will be men for whom one or other (or perhaps both) of the counter-positions has little potency. Maybe they do not want promotion or are not yet qualified for it; maybe they prefer ordinary police work to juvenile liaison work so are in no way motivated to make relationships across the system boundary⁶; any number of possible reasons could be elucidated for the potency of one counter-position being so much greater than that of the other that the choice with which the particular officer is presented is relatively simple of solution. And this despite the assumption underlying this paper, that the two counter-positions are equally *interested* in projecting their role definitions, and that in structural terms they have equally powerful sanctions at their disposal. We see here more clearly than is customary how a sociological prediction may in particular cases be modified by characteristics peculiar to individuals which may or may not themselves be subject to sociological (as distinct from psychological) interpretation.

Despite these qualifications and stress avoidance (or conflict solving) behaviour, it might be predicted that a number of J.L.O.s would, as a result of this conflict, find themselves subject to stress in their work role. One indicator of this was mentioned during the field period. In Force B, three of the four officers who first operated the J.L. department had left the police force and become involved in probation or other social work prior to the research. In Force A one of the most welfare

⁶ Women officers in particular and also men in some forces may be *required to volunteer* for J.L. work, rather in the fashion of the army jokes. In these cases it may well be that the officer's major concern is with being a suitable person to move back out of the J.L. department into the regular police force.

orientated of the officers said that he felt that the police was the wrong context for this kind of work, and that he was himself seriously considering leaving to take up the work of a child care officer—though at the time of writing he had not done so. Such indicators do not even approximate to a scientific proof, but it is hoped that they, together with other better substantiated suggestions made in preceding pages, will provide some useful starting points for a further examination of the problems in this area, whether practical or theoretical.

Conclusions

The picture emerges of a sub-system on the boundary of the main system, linked to it both by its formal organisation and by its value system. On the other hand, the contacts which members of the J.L. sub-system have made across the boundary have brought into being a new value system which in many respects runs counter to the original. This new value system is necessary both in order to achieve goals set by the parent organisation—a common paradox—and in order to communicate adequately with those on the other side of the boundary whose assistance is required. Yet the original value system cannot be discarded beyond a certain point. Not only are individual liaison officers tied to the police system by the career structure but the continuing support of the parent system is necessary to keep the J.L. system in being. To increase effectiveness there must be some clear policy as to whether or not the police should continue to do this sort of work. A statutory requirement for police departments to be set up to deal specifically with juveniles would give greater security to the officers involved, and facilitate the development of a welfare orientation by making the officers less vulnerable to the day-to-day approval or disapproval of the police hierarchy. With the increasing amalgamation of police forces, these departments might be of such a size that they could maintain their own career structure so that officers could be freed from their total dependence on the approval of senior officers within the police system on an individual as well as a collective basis. If objectives were to be clearly defined there might be some chance of an appropriate reorganisation.

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SOME RESULTS ON THE MAUDSLEY PERSONALITY INVENTORY FROM A SAMPLE OF GIRLS IN BORSTAL

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A STUDY into the characteristics of girls undergoing borstal training showed that many of the girls had suffered from mental ill health or had disturbances of personality. This was confirmed by members of the borstal staff, who found that these girls frequently presented severe problems in any training programme. From other studies it would appear that the proportion of girls who were affected in this way was significantly higher than the proportion of borstal boys. With these considerations in mind, it was decided that it would be of interest to administer the Maudsley Personality Inventory (the M.P.I.) to the girls in borstal.† This aims to measure the two dimensions of Extroversion—Introversion (E) and Neuroticism (N) and has already been used extensively as an instrument of research and diagnosis.

The Maudsley Personality Inventory was developed by Professor Eysenck and is based on his general theory of personality. This theory has already been clearly stated by Eysenck (1947, 1953, 1957, 1964) and it has been used to explain certain types of criminality and in particular psychopathic behaviour. Hypotheses have been derived from the theory and these have been tested on both delinquent and non-delinquent groups. One major difference between this delinquent group and other similar groups is that these are young delinquent females. Eysenck himself found that the women in his normal sample tended to score higher on neuroticism and lower on extroversion than the men. Bartholomew (1959), however, did not find any significant differences in the scores for the men or women in his normal population. Eysenck also found that the younger age group and the lower social class tended to score higher on the neuroticism scale. He also found that, when the M.P.I. was given to a group of recidivist prisoners,

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† The co-operation of the borstal staff in arranging for these girls to be tested with the Maudsley Personality Inventory has been greatly appreciated.

The writer is also very grateful to Miss Goodman and other members of the Home Office Research Unit for their help in administering the Inventory and for their advice on the statistical calculations and the preparation of the report.

they scored higher on the neuroticism scale than the normals but gave very similar scores on the extroversion scale.

Franks (1956) hypothesised the existence of two types of recidivists: the extrovert who fails to condition and could therefore come from any kind of environment; and the introvert who comes from a delinquent environment and conditions easily. Bartholomew (1959) on the other hand considered that the "hard core" of recidivists would score high on the extroversion scale and tested this by comparing the scores of a group of first offenders with those of a group of recidivists. He found that the recidivists scored significantly higher on extroversion than the first offenders, but there was no significant difference between either group and the general population. He suggested therefore that the first offenders might be slightly underscoring on the extroversion scale as the effect of an artificial environment might be greater for them. He concluded that his results did not support a theory linking extroversion with criminality. Bartholomew's results did, however, conform with Eysenck's findings that recidivist prisoners have significantly higher neuroticism scores.

Field (1959) investigated the position of delinquents on the extroversion-introversion dimension. He tested three groups on the Maudsley Personality Inventory: young recidivists, older recidivists and apprentices. He found that the extroversion scores went in the opposite direction to that expected, the apprentices having the highest scores and the older recidivists the lowest. To control for the possible effect of the age difference he excluded the latter group from further analysis. He therefore investigated how the young recidivists scored lower on extroversion than the apprentices. He divided the items in the scale into three sub-groups on the basis of face-validity, as follows: "Social Extroversion"; "Behavioural Extroversion"; and "Ambiguous" items. He tested the hypothesis that the apprentices and recidivists, having the same total extroversion score, would also score the same on each sub-group of items. He found, however, that the recidivists scored significantly lower on social extroversion and significantly higher on behavioural extroversion, while there was no difference on the ambiguous items. He therefore rejected his hypothesis and suggested two possible explanations of his finding. First, he suggested that the difference might result from the effect of imprisonment on the recidivists. If they were tested outside the prison their behavioural extroversion scores might remain the same but their social extroversion scores might increase to form the usual ratio between

the two scales. Secondly, he thought the discrepancy might correspond to a difference in personality between delinquents and non-delinquents, which would have certain implications for treatment.

Fitch (1962) reported the distribution of these two personality variables in a criminal population. His results confirmed the positive association between scores on the neuroticism scale and recidivism, which earlier studies had revealed, but was unable to provide any evidence of a relationship between extroversion and recidivism. He did, however, find a significant association between age and extroversion scores, with the extroversion score decreasing with age. He also examined the relationship between high and low extroversion and neuroticism scores and variables relating to early upbringing and environment, such as the child's relationship with his parents, the father's employment, and illness in the family. He found that a high neuroticism score was closely associated with reported childhood unhappiness and a family history of mental disturbance, while a high extroversion score was associated with factors suggestive of a lack of adequate education and training during childhood.

Little (1963) restated the two deductions made by Franks from Eysenck's theory. His study is particularly relevant to this sample of borstal girls because he was investigating boys receiving borstal training. Little used the short version of the M.P.I. which consists of the first twelve of the forty-eight items on the long version. Little found that the borstal boys scored significantly higher on the neuroticism scale than Eysenck's normals. He attributes this to their youth and lower social class background. Neither of Franks' hypotheses concerning their scores on the extroversion scale was confirmed by this study.

Little therefore suggested an important distinction between a general theory of delinquency and a theory of recidivism or psychopathy. He suggested that sub-samples of borstal boys from institutions with different average failure rates should have a corresponding difference in scores on the extroversion scale. Thus those boys with a lesser chance of recidivating would be expected to have a lower score on the extroversion scale than those with a greater chance. This was not confirmed by his results. Little also tested Franks' hypothesis that introverts would respond "better" to the training régime in a penal institution than extroverts. As the borstal sentence is indeterminate and depends on the individual's response to training, this would be demonstrated by an earlier and more "satisfactory" discharge from

borstal. He was unable to find any significant association between extroversion scores and "satisfactory" completion of training.

The Sample

The M.P.I. was administered to those girls undergoing borstal training between September 1965 and January 1966. The girls tested were all between the ages of 16 and 22 and their mean age was 19.3 years. The sample did not include any first offenders and most girls had a considerable number of previous convictions. The majority of the group had also received various other forms of treatment and training prior to their borstal sentence.

The present sample consists of 100 girls from the three borstals, out of a population of 110. Of the remainder seven refused to complete the test, one girl was considered by the staff to be untestable due to subnormality and two questionnaires had to be discarded because they contained too many "Don't know" responses.

The records available on this group of borstal girls showed that they were very similar in their mental health history to another sample of borstal girls studied by Goodman and Price (1967). This latter sample included all girls entering borstal in 1963, and at least a quarter of these were known to have been either patients at a mental hospital or had been referred for psychiatric treatment elsewhere.

The test conditions varied slightly in each borstal. The borstal institutions will be referred to as

A—Closed

B—Open

C—Closed (taking those girls who are pregnant on admission to borstal)

In borstal A the girls took the questionnaire to their rooms but had free access to other girls and to the test administrators. In borstal B the girls were tested in groups of about ten during evening classes, while in C the tests were given in groups of about four. Some of the girls had difficulty in understanding some of the items and when this occurred a standardised definition was given verbally. Others had difficulty in concentrating for the time required to complete the test.

Results

1. Comparison between the present sample and the standardisation sample

The mean scores and the standard deviations on the extro-

version and neuroticism scales of Eysenck's standardisation samples (1959) and the present sample are as follows:

TABLE I (a)
Extroversion Scale

	Borstal girls	Normals	Prisoners (Recidivists)	Psychopaths (Hospital patients)	Female prisoners (English) *
No.	100	1,800	146	108	103
Mean	29.90	24.91	24.09	30.77	28.18
t		6.19	5.38	0.74	1.63
Level of significance		$p < .001$	$p < .001$	N.S.	N.S.
S.D.	7.73	9.71	9.11	9.33	7.35
F.		1.58	1.39	1.46	1.11
Level of significance		$p < .02$	$p < .05$	$p < .05$	N.S.

TABLE I (b)
Neuroticism Scale

	Borstal girls	Normals	Recidivists	Psychopaths (Hospital patients)	Female prisoners (English) *
No.	100	1,800	146	108	103
Mean	35.40	19.89	30.35	35.58	30.09
t		18.40	4.22	0.21	4.65
Level of significance		$p < .001$	$p < .001$	N.S.	$p < .001$
S.D.	8.02	11.02	10.73	10.89	8.25
F		1.89	1.79	1.84	1.06
Level of significance		$p < .02$	$p < .02$	$p < .02$	N.S.

* (The Eysenck Personality Inventory (E.P.I.) has been administered by Dr. Syed to a group of female prisoners. The E.P.I. has been developed from the M.P.I. and the two scales are reported to be highly correlated.)

The main difficulty in assessing the present scores on the two M.P.I. scales is the absence of any scores from comparable groups of non-delinquent females. The results from the other studies of scores on the extroversion scale are somewhat at variance with each other but

there seems to be a tendency for recidivists to give slightly elevated scores. Fitch's study indicated that extroversion scores were highest for the younger male (16-19) age group while Eysenck (1959) reported that women generally scored one-third standard deviation higher on "N" and one-sixth S.D. lower on "E" than men. This table compares the scores obtained by the borstal sample and the various standardisation groups.

The borstal girls have significantly higher scores on both the extroversion and neuroticism scales than Eysenck's normal group, the greatest difference between the two groups being on the neuroticism scale. When the borstal girls' scores are compared with those of the recidivist prisoners they are again significantly higher on both scales though the difference between their neuroticism scores is less.

Syed's group of female prisoners are the group most similar in other respects to the borstal girls. Their mean ages differ by approximately three years and the effect of age differences will be discussed. When the scores of the two groups are compared they are found to be very similar on the extroversion scale, but the borstal girls have significantly higher scores on the neuroticism scale.

However, in respect of the scores on both the extroversion and neuroticism scales, this group of borstal girls are remarkably similar to the scores of Eysenck's group of hospital psychopaths, there being little difference between the mean scores on either scale.

In order to compare the homogeneity of this group of borstal girls with that of the standardisation groups, the differences in their standard deviations have been considered. (See Table 1.) This table shows that the borstal girls are the most homogeneous group on the neuroticism scale, while on the extroversion scale the only group more homogeneous is that of the female prisoners, but on neither scale are the differences between these two groups significant. The borstal girls are, however, significantly more homogeneous than Eysenck's three groups of normals, recidivist prisoners and hospital psychopaths. The two groups from penal institutions thus indicate a more "selected" group.

2. *Correlation between the neuroticism and extroversion scales*

Previous studies have shown that the two dimensions are not completely orthogonal, particularly with certain selected samples. Eysenck reports that there is a tendency for subjects with very low

extroversion scores to score high on neuroticism. Within his neurotic groups he found the correlation between the two scores was around -0.3 to -0.4 . Bartholomew (1959) also found similar correlations with his sample of prisoners, while Fitch reported a significant but somewhat smaller correlation.

With the present group of 100 young female delinquents a negative correlation ($r = -0.31$) was found between the extroversion and neuroticism scales. For the sub-group of girls in the open borstal, the correlation was higher ($r = -0.56$).

3. *Correlation between the long and short scales*

The short scale consists of the first twelve of the forty-eight items on the long version of the questionnaire. Eysenck found that the correlations between the long and short M.P.I. scales were 0.86 for neuroticism and 0.87 for extroversion. The correlations found in this study were lower, 0.657 for the neuroticism and 0.664 for the extroversion scales. There are various possible explanations for these differences. The testing conditions of the girls in small groups may have been less conducive to consistency than the conditions under which Eysenck gave his test. It is also possible that some maladjusted subjects tend to be less consistent in completing questionnaires and so correlations between subsections and the complete score would be decreased, or that the correlation is not linear and is less at high scores, the area where most of these girls' scores lie.

It was noticed in particular that the correlation between the short and long neuroticism scales varied between the three borstal samples, being highest for the pregnant girls who also gave the lowest mean "N" scores. This variation did not occur to the same extent with the "E" scores.

Since the full score includes the short version as its first twelve items it was considered that a more valid test of inconsistency in responses might be obtained by correlating the short score with the score from the remaining eighteen questions on the "N" scale. As one would expect, these correlations are somewhat lower than those obtained between the short and full score, but here again the correlation differs between the three borstals. However, in spite of apparent differences, these are not significant and there is not sufficient evidence to suspect that the three correlations may not be from the same population ($\chi^2 = 3.815$, d.f.2, $0.27 p < 0.1$).

TABLE 2

Correlations between the Long and the Short "N" Scales

	N	Mean N. Score		Correlation between short and full (r)	Correlation between short and "rest" (r)
		Short scale	Full scale		
Borstal					
A (Closed)	54	10.3	37.3	.62	.37
B (Open)	26	10.2	34.9	.41	.10
C (For girls pregnant on admission)	20	8.4	30.8	.81	.62
Total	100	9.9	35.4	.66	.40

It might be that the relationship between the short and long "N" scales is not linear throughout that range of scores and hence for this sample of girls, with predominantly high "N" scores, the correlation may be reduced. A large number of the girls had maximum scores on the short scale. The borstal with the fewest girls scoring the highest possible on the "N" scale had the highest correlation between the scores on the short and full scales (*i.e.*, the borstal for girls pregnant on admission, with a correlation of 0.81 between the long and short "N" scales).

TABLE 3

"N" Scale

Borstal	No.	Number of girls scoring			
		12 on Short Scale		45-48* on Long Scale	
A	54	27	(50%)	8	(15%)
B	26	12	(46%)	3	(12%)
C	20	4	(20%)	1	(5%)
Total	100	43	(43%)	12	(12%)

* *i.e.*, top one-twelfth of scale, comparable to 12 on the short scale.

4 *Consideration of bias arising from the positive and negative responses to questions on the M.P.I.*

It is possible that living in an institutional setting such as a borstal might have some effect on an individual's score on both the neuroticism and extroversion scale, since the answers to certain of the questions

might be particularly influenced by the girl's experience of borstal training, for example (15) "Are you inclined to ponder over your past?" and (33) "Do you spend much time in thinking over good times you have had in the past?" All but a very few of the girls in all three borstals answered both of these questions positively. It is possible therefore that their neuroticism scores were raised slightly by this type of question.

The other factor that may influence the scoring is the positive response bias of the M.P.I. On the neuroticism scale and on most of the extroversion scale items an individual score is increased by a positive response. It is, therefore, possible to obtain a very high neuroticism and a fairly high extroversion score by automatically saying "Yes" to all the questions. It has been reported by Hathaway (1953) that delinquents tend to be more "acquiescent" in their test-taking attitude than non-delinquents. It is possible that the scores of the borstal sample were to some extent a reflection of the positive response bias of the scales.

5. *Association between M.P.I. scores and age at the time of testing*

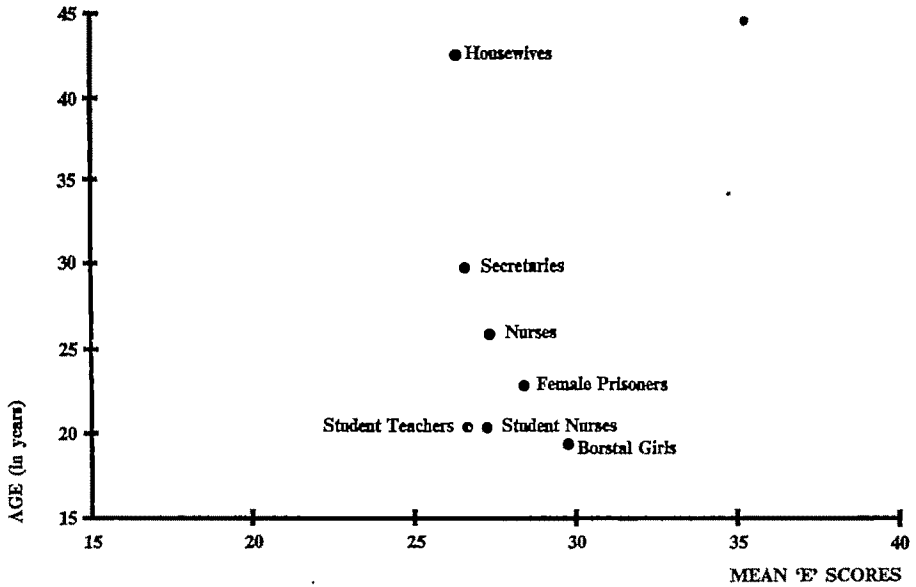
Fitch (1962), in his study of the M.P.I. scores of a sample of 700 male prisoners of all ages, did not find any significant association between age and the "N" scale score. He did, however, find a significant association between age and the "E" scale score, with the score decreasing with age.

The ages of the borstal girls at the time of testing ranged from 16-22 years with a mean age of 19.3 years. The mean age of the comparable group of female prisoners was 22.6 years, with a standard deviation of 7.4 years. As the difference between the ages of these two groups is relatively small their scores have been compared with those of other groups containing large female samples of different ages. All these other groups have been tested with the Eysenck Personality Inventory and their scores are reported in the Manual of the E.P.I. (1965).

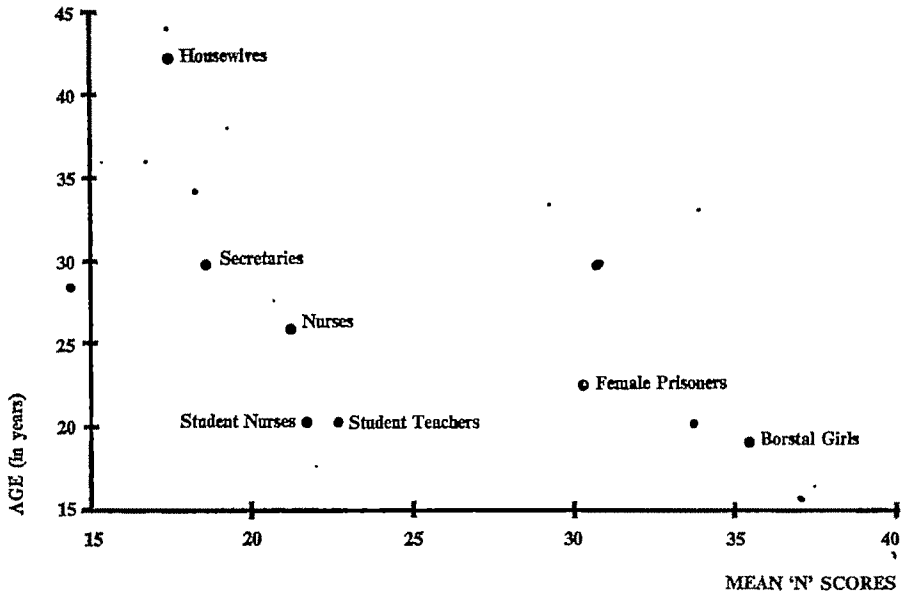
For the "normal" groups it would appear that the "E" score was fairly similar throughout but the "N" score decreased with age. The female prisoners and particularly the borstal girls scored higher on both scales than the other groups of similar ages. This rather inconclusive evidence suggests that while the borstal girls' scores may to some slight extent have been related to their age, it is evident that there are other factors which have made a much greater contribution to their scores, especially on the "E" scale.

Diagram A

AGE AND MEAN 'E' SCORES OF PREDOMINANTLY FEMALE GROUPS



AGE AND MEAN 'N' SCORES OF PREDOMINANTLY FEMALE GROUPS



6. Comparison between young delinquent males and females on M.P.I. scores

The mean scores and standard deviations on the extroversion and neuroticism scales of the present sample and samples of male delinquents of fairly similar ages are shown in Tables 4 (a) and 4 (b).

On the extroversion scale Eysenck (1959) reported that women tend to have lower scores than men, while Fitch (1962) showed that scores generally decreased with age. This table shows that this sample of borstal girls scored significantly higher on the "E" scale than all the groups of young male prisoners, including Fitch's sample of very similar age. The only group where scores on the "E" scale do not differ significantly from those of the borstal girls are Little's borstal boys. It is possible that the selection procedure for borstal training has some effect on raising the scores of these two groups. (It is interesting to note, however, that Little's control group of non-delinquent boys did not have significantly different scores from his borstal sample on the "E" scale.) It has already been noted that the prison and borstal groups appear to be more homogeneous groups as indicated by a smaller standard deviation. On the neuroticism scale Eysenck (1959)

TABLE 4 (a)
Extroversion Scale

	Sample	No.	Age (in years)	Mean	S.D.		
(i) Long Scale	Borstal Girls	100	16-21	29.90	7.73		
	Fitch (1962) Remand & sentenced prisoners (Male)	160	16-19	27.36	8.00	t = 2.54	p < .05
		154	20-23	26.73	7.12	t = 3.28	p < .002
	Field (1959) Young recidivist prisoners (Male)	200	early 20s	27.66*	8.92*	t = 2.25	p < .05
(ii) Short Scale †	Borstal Girls	100	16-21	8.12	2.55		
	Little (1963) Borstal boys	290	16-21	8.27	2.57	t = 0.50	N.S.

* These scores have been doubled as the scoring system used allotted only half the usual marks for each question.

TABLE 4 (b)
Neuroticism Scale

		No.	Age (in years)	Mean	S.D.		
(i) Long Scale							
	Borstal Girls	100	16-21	35.40	8.02		
Fitch (1962)	Remand & sentenced prisoners (Male)	160	16-19	28.30	10.94	$t = 6.03$	$p < .001$
		154	20-23	27.32	9.92	$t = 6.87$	$p < .001$
Field (1959)	Young recidivist prisoners (Male)	Scores not stated					
(ii) Short Scale †							
	Borstal Girls	100	16-21	9.85	2.27		
Little (1963)	Borstal Boys	290	16-21	7.45	3.16	$t = 8.19$	$p < .001$

† As Little (1963) used the short scale on his group of borstal boys, their scores have been compared with those of the borstal girls on the first 12 questions of the long scale.

reported that women tended to score higher than men, while Fitch showed that the young and the old generally had higher scores than the middle-age range. This table shows that there was a significant difference between the scores of the borstal girls and the scores of all the other groups on the "N" scale. The borstal girls scored higher than both samples of male prisoners and much higher than Little's sample of borstal boys. (Little also found that his borstal boys scored significantly higher than his non-delinquent boys, but explained this difference by the former group's exclusively lower-working-class occupational background, which is reported to increase scores on the "N" scale.)

7. Social and behavioural extroversion

Field (1959) divided the extroversion items into three groups: Behavioural Extroversion; Social Extroversion; and Ambiguous items.¹

These items correspond to some extent to the two components of

¹ Behavioural Extroversion (7 items) 1, 5, 8, 12, 32, 34, 44.
Social Extroversion (11 items) 4, 9, 14, 16, 20, 22, 26, 30, 36, 38, 48.
Ambiguous (6 items) 18, 24, 28, 40, 42, 46.

extroversion which Eysenck and Eysenck (1963) identified by factor analysis and called "sociability" and "impulsiveness." Field's eleven social extroversion items include ten which Eysenck scored as sociability items and one which he scored for impulsiveness. Field's seven behavioural items contain three which Eysenck scored as impulsiveness items and four which he scored for sociability. This would indicate very close agreement between Field and Eysenck on the composition of the social-extroversion or sociability factor and rather less agreement on the behavioural extroversion or impulsiveness factor.

Field matched his young delinquents with apprentices on their total extroversion score, and found that the delinquents scored higher on behavioural and lower on social extroversion than the apprentices. (This difference he suggested might be the result of imprisonment or might reflect a difference in the personalities of delinquents and non-delinquents.)

As a control group of non-delinquent girls was not available for comparison with the borstal girls, it was not possible to examine the effect of imprisonment or of a "delinquent" personality on the social and behavioural extroversion scores. It was considered possible that the girls with a more serious offence history, as measured by the number of previous court appearances, would score higher on behavioural extroversion and lower on social extroversion than the girls with a less serious offence history. The number of known previous court appearances of this group of borstal girls varies from 0 to 10 with a mean of 3.03 appearances. The scores of the girls with 0-2 previous court appearances compared with the scores of the girls with three or more previous court appearances are as follows:

TABLE 5

Scores

No. of Previous court Appearances	No. of Girls	Total Extroversion	Social Extroversion	Behavioural Extroversion	Ambiguous
Not known	12	30.3	14.6	10.4	5.3
0-2	38	29.3	13.7	9.3	6.2
3-10	50	30.2	14.5	9.3	6.4
		$t = 0.524$ N.S.	$t = 0.767$ N.S.	$t = 0$ N.S.	$t = 0$ N.S.

This table indicates that there are no significant differences between the scores of the girls with 0-2 previous court appearances and those with 3-10 previous court appearances on the social and behavioural extroversion scales.

Although we do not have any norms with which to compare these girls' scores on social and behavioural extroversion it is possible to investigate the relationship between the scores on the two sub-scales themselves and between them and the total possible scores on these scales. First, the ratios of the mean scores to the total possible behavioural and social extroversion scores are very similar. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6

	Total Possible Score	Mean	Percentage of Total
Behavioural extroversion	14	9.47	68
Social extroversion	22	14.22	65

Secondly, a small but significant positive correlation was found between the social and behavioural scores ($r = 0.37$). This compares with the slightly higher correlation that Eysenck (1963) found between his sociability and impulsiveness factors ($r = 0.468$).

8. *An attempt at validation—the relationship between M.P.I. scores and the personality assessments by the borstal staff*

During visits to the three borstals the personality and behaviour of the girls were discussed with the staff. It seemed that some of the staff used concepts akin to neuroticism and extroversion in their thinking about the girls. It was thought to be of interest to compare the ranking of the girls by the staff on these two personality dimensions to the girls' actual scores. To do this the Governor of the borstal or the member of staff in charge of each of the five groups of girls (arising from five visits to the institutions) was asked to rank the girls on extroversion and neuroticism. They were instructed to rank by assuming that the "N" scale ran from "normal" to "disturbed" and the "E" scale ran from "withdrawn" to "sociable." The writer is aware that these descriptions only approximate to Eysenck's definitions.

Spearman's rho was used on the ten sets of judgments and M.P.I. scores and it was found that all but one set were positively correlated,

TABLE 7

*Rank Correlations between the Girls' "E" and "N" Scores
and the Staff's Ranking of the Girls*

Borstals	Groups	Extroversion	Neuroticism
A.	I	0.113	-0.175
	II	0.180	0.529
	III	0.544	0.246
B.	IV	0.493	0.028
C.	V	0.391	0.286

The significance of the rank correlations were as follows:

	Extroversion	Neuroticism
z =	0.381	0.181
r =	0.364	0.179
t =	3.55	1.75
	Significant at 1 per cent. level	Not Significant

the highest being 0.54. In order to get a better estimate of the ten pairs of rankings of scores and staff assessments, the Spearman's rho correlations for each pair were pooled by means of Fisher's z transformation to give a pooled value of rho. The significance of these was then tested by the t test. The correlations tended to be higher on the extroversion scale than on the neuroticism scale giving the following results:

Extroversion: $t = 3.55$ d.f. 98 $p < .01$

Neuroticism: $t = 1.75$ d.f. 98 $p < .10$

The results in Table 2 indicated that the sample of borstal girls was fairly homogeneous, thus increasing the difficulty of distinguishing easily between individuals in order to rank them. Nevertheless, the staff assessments of extroversion were found to be significantly correlated with the girls' scores on the M.P.I. "E" scale. Although the correlations between the staff assessment and the M.P.I. scores on the "N" scale were not significant, they were in the right direction.

Previous research has indicated that extroversion and neuroticism

are traits which may be discerned both by questionnaires and by skilled observers (Vernon, 1964). Although the correlations are not very high these results would appear to support this finding.

When Eysenck and Eysenck (1963) studied the relationship between rated and self-rated behaviour, they concluded that there was considerable agreement between the two methods of assessment on the "E" scale, whereas on the "N" scale the agreement was much less close. These results would appear to confirm this finding.

Summary and Conclusions

- (a) In order to make personality assessments of girls receiving borstal training, the M.P.I. was administered to a sample of 100 girls in three borstals.
- (b) The girls scored significantly higher on both the neuroticism and the extroversion scales than Eysenck's normals or recidivists, and their distribution of scores was also somewhat narrower, on both scales. The mean scores were, however, very similar to those of his psychopathic group. When the scores of the borstal girls were compared with the scores obtained by Syed's group of female prisoners, it was found that their scores were very similar on the "E" scale, but that the borstal girls scored significantly higher on the "N" scale.
- (c) These results agree with various other studies that have reported an association between neuroticism and recidivism. They also to some extent support the hypothesis that delinquents score high on the "E" scale.
- (d) A small negative correlation was found between the extroversion and neuroticism scales, which would tend to support previous findings that the two scales are not orthogonal.
- (e) The correlation between scores obtained on the short and full scales of both the "N" and "E" scales was not as high as that reported by Eysenck, and possible explanations for this finding with this particular sample are discussed.
- (f) It is possible that the high scores of this borstal sample were to some degree the result of the positive response bias on the two scales.
- (g) There is evidence to suggest that the age of the girls made some slight contribution to their high scores, particularly on the "N" scale.

- (h) The scores of this sample of borstal girls were compared with those of delinquent male groups of similar ages. The borstal girls scored significantly higher on the "E" scale than all the male groups except Little's sample of borstal boys, where no significant difference between the two groups was found. On the "N" scale the borstal girls had much higher scores than all of the male delinquent groups, with significant differences in each case.
- (i) An attempt to test Field's hypotheses on the social and behavioural extroversion scores of delinquents did not provide any positive results.
- (j) Positive correlations between the girls' scores on the M.P.I. "E" and "N" scales and the borstal staff's ranking of the girls were found, but these were only of statistical significance on the "E" scale.

Borstal girls then appear to score higher than normals on the M.P.I. neuroticism and extroversion scales, as do other groups in penal institutions. Their mean scores are also higher than the other groups in penal institutions particularly on the "N" scale. For the "E" scores the difference is not significantly higher than those of female prisoners or borstal boys. It is thought unlikely that age differences and positive response bias would account for the whole of the differences. The borstal girls' scores are similar to those of hospital psychopaths on both scales.

ADDITIONAL NOTE BY MISS N. GOODMAN

Reconvictions of girls in borstals to whom the M.P.I. was administered

Of the 100 borstal girls to whom the M.P.I. was administered during 1965 and 1966, 34 were recalled or reconvicted again within a year of release.

These girls were compared in respect of their scores on the M.P.I. with the 66 who were not reconvicted.

	<i>Reconvicted</i>	<i>Not Reconvicted</i>
Number	34	66
Mean "N" Score	37.4	34.3
Standard deviation	7.4	8.3
Mean "E" score	29.2	30.0
Standard deviation	8.1	7.8

The reconvicted girls on the average had slightly higher "N" scores but the averages were not statistically different ($t=1.87$; D.F. 98; $.1 > P < .05$).

The average "E" scores of the two groups were similar

The girls were divided into four groups, obtained by dividing them into above and below the median scores on both scales (between 36 and 37 for the "N" scale and between 31 and 32 for the "E" scale).

	Reconvicted	Not Reconvicted	Probability of Reconviction
Low N, Low E	5	14	.263
Low N, High E	9	21	.300
High N, Low E	13	18	.419
High N, High E	7	13	.350

Again, there was no significant difference in probability of reconviction between these groups ($\chi^2 = 1.6$; 3 d.f.).

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CURRENT SURVEY

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

SOCIAL STIGMA AND PROSTITUTION

SHLOMO SHOHAM * AND GIORA RAHAV †

THIS is an attempt to relate the stigma theory of crime and deviation to the etiology of prostitution in authoritarian, oriental families. The stigma theory has recently been formulated in volume length (Shoham, 1966). The present paper proposes to apply this theory to the genesis of prostitution as reflected in a proposed research population of North African prostitutes in Israel. It should be pointed out, however, that the present theoretical exposition transcends the topic of prostitution. The latter has been used as a seemingly adequate empirical referent. If we regard prostitution as a *sui generis* type of deviant behaviour we do not exclude it, however, from the generic syndrome of social deviation. The present exposition might, therefore be an instance of the application of the stigma theory to one type of deviation as an illustrative case which might apply *mutatis mutandis* to other types of crime and social deviation.

Theoretical Basis of Stigma

Unlike a recent study on stigma (Goffman, 1960), which included in its analysis cripples, the blind, the deaf, Jews, Negroes, drug addicts, prostitutes and homosexuals, we had to exclude from our analysis the physically deformed or afflicted, ethnic minorities and religious sects. The latter are individuals and groups which *ab initio* are overtly and conspicuously different. This difference is inherent in their physical attributes or related to socially conspicuous minority groups of which they are members. We had to confine our analysis to the stigma branded by society and its institutions on individuals and groups in conjunction with the latter's conformity to, or deviation from, the prevailing normative systems. We shall therefore use the concept of stigma in the sense of a derogatory attribute imputed to the social image of an individual or group, and used as a tool of social control.

As such, the link of social stigma with crime and deviation could be studied on two levels: first, its effect on the initial recruiting into crime and deviation, and secondly, its effect on further crime and deviation after a person has already clashed with the machinery of law enforcement and other mechanisms of social control. This second phase of stigma is related with its formal effects. The stigma of conviction as a criminal, or being identified and tagged as a

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homosexual or a "red sympathiser" limits a person's socio-economic opportunities and causes his status and role to be forcibly changed. He may reject at first some of the "legitimate" or "square" group's norms and seek the company of other ex-convicts, homosexuals, and red sympathisers who had similar adjustment problems. Finally, a total rejection may ensue of the norms and values of the legitimate group and an adoption of the normative system of the deviant group, of which he is in the process of becoming a fully-fledged member.

This facet of the effects of formal stigma on the future social position and behaviour of the stigmatised individual is outside the scope of the present paper. We are concerned here with the branding mechanisms of society and the corresponding self-definition by an individual as a deviant prior to his formal stigmatisation by the court and other organs of social control. In other words, we are not dealing here with the effects of stigma on further recidivism and recurring deviation, but with the processes of stigma which contribute towards the primary initiation in crime and deviation. We have specified in a previous instance that the theoretical levels in criminology can be divided into three stages: (1) the causes of the process by which a person commits his first offence, or a child makes his first steps towards delinquency; (2) the problems of recidivism and the process which leads a first offender to be persistent, professional and, ultimately, a hardened incorrigible criminal; (3) the third stage deals with the phenomena of crime on the social level, i.e., the fluctuation of crime rates in a given time; the genesis and volume of special types of crime and the inter-relationships between crime, delinquency and social change (Shoham, 1963).

The effects of formal stigma are in the realm of the second level of analysis, whereas the preconviction stigma is within the framework of the first stage only. The most notable previous contribution to the theoretical analysis of the effects of stigma on the etiology of crime is the now classic description by Tannenbaum (1938) of the tagging and isolation by society of the delinquent group. Becker examined the effect of stigma on the self-concept of individuals who joined deviant groups, e.g., marihuana users and dance musicians. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) in their *Delinquency and Opportunity* resorted to the stigma premises while investigating the genesis of the delinquent subculture and the prevailing bases of an individual's rejection from the legitimate structures. They state *inter alia*: "The initial contrast between the individual and the authorities over the legitimacy of certain social norms and the appropriateness of certain acts of deviance sets in motion a process of definition that marks the offender as different from law-abiding folk. His acts and his person are defined as "evil" and he is caught up in a vicious cycle of norm-violation. The process of alienation is accelerated, and the chasm between the offender and those who control and reform him grows wider and deeper. In such circumstances he becomes increasingly dependent on the support of others in his position. The gang of peers forms a new social world in which the legitimacy of delinquent conduct is strongly reinforced."

However, the best formulation to date of the stigma premises was carried out, not by a social scientist, but by Jean Genet, the thief, playwright,

philosopher. Most of Genet's writings, both drama and novels, are largely autobiographical. He has spent most of his life in criminal and deviant groups and in prisons, and he depicts with devastating sincerity his criminal self-image vis-à-vis the legitimate "opposite" society. Genet was born out of wedlock. His mother abandoned him in his cradle and he was cared for in his formative years by the orphanage of the *Assistance Publique*, which in due course entrusted him to a foster home, a peasant family in Le Morvan. He soon realised that he was not like the other village youngsters. He was a foundling, with no mother, no father, and therefore no clear identity to internalise. The village was a close community, and he soon found out that in the peasant family he was "Jean, the little bastard." The other children in the family found it easy to impute any mishap or misdeed to the little bastard from the orphanage.

Young Genet became, therefore, the receptacle for all the residuary, unwanted and despised attributes of the family and the small peasant community. His self-image and inner sense of identity were references, images and characterisations tagged on him by the "relevant others." Young Genet, in a state of "other-directedness" or "*alteracion*" as coined by Ortega-y-Gasset, complied with the image built for him by his immediate surroundings. The branding, the tagging in Genet's case resulted, *faute de mieux*, because of a non-existent inner-directed alternative image, in his need to become what he was accused of being. "I owned to being the coward, traitor, thief and fairy they saw in me" (Genet, 1948, p. 81).

From Genet's own account of his relationship with the Le Morvan community we observe a typical positive-feed-back cycle of being rejected by a group and rejecting it in turn. This could be traced to the initial stigmatising process which has been described previously. The cognitive rejection and counter-rejection could be more of a rationalisation by Genet of his inner compliance with the image which he has been tagged with. The "other-directedness" of Genet, i.e., being branded illegitimate, bad, and a thief, and consequently pleasing the others by actualising their vile image of him, is a display of acquiescence and submission. He wilfully, almost joyfully, plunges into depths of negativity. He finally knows who he is, he has been given an image he never had—and if the image is of a pederast and a thief it has to be honed with arduous zeal to perfection. This, to be sure, subconscious process, is one facet of a cyclic ambivalence towards the stigmatising group. The acceptance facet of submitting to the image and being compulsorily over-conforming towards it alternates with the cognitive counter-rejection of the group following the painful rejection by it. After being rejected by society although he complied with the image cast on him, Genet feels cheated, he has what seems to him a justified grievance and he becomes thoroughly negativistic for a double purpose. One is to perfect the vile image; maybe his contrariness was not thorough enough, maybe he has not yet accomplished the requirements of the relevant others, therefore he has to pursue more evil and greater vileness. "When I undertook to accomplish evil," Genet (1949) writes, "I know it, is the only thing that has sufficient power to communicate enthusiasm to my pen, a sign in this case of my perfected allegiance to that daring to pursue a destiny that is against all rules." The other purpose of Genet's masterful negativism

is his cognitive rationalisation of his rejection and counter-rejection of "your world." This has more than a tinge of *ressentiment*; he never really relinquished his desire to be accepted by "your world," even by conventional, institutionalised avenues and not necessarily through the gutters of sordidness and crime. "I wanted to give my body and arms an opportunity to assume conventionally beautiful poses which might indicate me into 'your world'" (Genet, 1948, p. 86).

His normative transformation was, of course, not instantaneous; he had his inner struggles with the remnants of conventional morals he managed to internalise from his surroundings. "I had to combat, to abolish what is called remorse" (Genet, 1948, p. 101). These might have been intermediate stages of an incomplete negation of the normative system of "your world." The exaggerated reaction formation against these "square" norms indicates an ambivalence towards them. However, this stage was passed by Genet very quickly. The second one was his identification with the image of a criminal. His inner identity longed to fulfil an image: "In children's Hells, in prisons, in bars, it was not heroic adventures that I sought, I pursued there my identification with the handsomest and most unfortunate criminals" (Genet, 1948, p. 176). Indeed this identification with criminal images and desire to play criminal roles are in line with Glaser's (1956) theory of criminal behaviour. The so-called differential-identification theory presupposes inner identification with the criminal image prior to outward delinquent behaviour, but it does not try to explain why some people do identify with criminal images and others with non-criminal ones. The stigma premise might account partially for this differential identification. A person being tagged with the stigma of a thief would eventually seek the proper criminal images to identify with in order to comply inwardly with the image thrust upon him.

Another stage in the development of criminal identity resulting, *inter alia*, from stigma is the negation of the normative systems of "your world." By complying with the image of a thief, he not only crystallises his own self-image but is also obeying the generalised others. He has fulfilled their wish and has accomplished his *corresponding duty*. By becoming the deserved receptacle of their scorn he considers himself as having earned their praise. If "your world" is delaying the payment of commendable recognition and acceptance, something is apparently wrong with "your world" system of norms; the adjectives are upside-down and connotations should be completely and totally reversed. This reversal of the normative system of "your world" is a common denominator of the stigmatised. It is the basic cohesive element which unifies the stigmatised, the rejected, into underworld groups and initiates the process of association into criminal subcultures. Young Genet is sent to a reform school and this is the cornerstone of a rich career—begging in Spain, thieving in France, deserting from the Foreign Legion, being a male prostitute and smuggling drugs all over Europe. After some years of this Genet and "your world" have no love for each other; their contacts are belligerent ones through the holes and leakages of the social barricade which divides them. The final stage in the development of Genet's identity is to regard his own life of crime as a mode of personal fulfilment. When Genet commits a crime now he acts according to the image

cast on him. He complies first of all with the expectations of his immediate environment and this in itself is satisfying. He is no more Jean the nameless bastard, he is Jean the thief. This newly found self-image is a source of strength and achievement. Jean in a state of "ego-diffusion," to borrow Erikson's (1956) concept, of unknown origin, no parents, no past, with a precarious present and uncertain future, finds at last his coveted ego-identity; one that is not only cast upon him but is his alone. The compliance with the image of a criminal not only gives him an individual ego-identity but also makes him eligible for the group of other thieves and homosexuals, affording thus the opportunity for identification with the group and a sense of belonging. An empirical proof for this process may be found in the data collected by Lewin-Field (1951, p. 272) according to which the emotional tension of adolescent youths was greatly reduced when they finally became members of a criminal gang and there found, presumably, their coveted ego identity.

The crucial point, however, is that every new act of crime *reinforces* this ego-identity with the resultant feeling of accomplishment. The sense of fulfillment accompanying an act of crime as described by Genet is professedly complex and conjectural as far as our present premises are concerned. This could be linked to the sense of pollution ingrained in him by stigma. He was chosen as scapegoat, as a receptacle of abuse, refuse and vileness. The black religiosity of Genet, the origins of which must be outside the scope of the present analysis, induced him to apply ritual to every further step in his evil transformation. Every additional negation is a triumph. Murder should be performed as a human sacrifice to the accompaniment of a black mass. Being a criminal—as a vicarious obligation to others, as a sacrifice to others in so far as one complies with an image tagged on one by others—is a sacrifice worthy of fulfillment. This salvation through the gutters is apparently not confined to Genet himself but is a sort of cleansing vehicle for the pollution of others. He is the scapegoat, the damned. He receives, as in stoning, all the evils cast off from the community and transferred symbolically to him. By receiving these stigmatising stones he is ritually expiated; he cleanses them of their sins by taking them upon himself. This is the basis of his claim to ritualistic fulfillment—the beatitude of a thief. However, there is no hopeful resurrection for him, he knows by now that his vicarious expiation of the evil of the others by being their damned scapegoat will not be paid by social acceptance in this world or by heavenly love in the ever-after.

This sketch of the making of a Genet brings us to the point where a more precise formulation of the stigma premise is called for.

The Stigma Theory

In constructing the theoretical exposition of social stigma, we have operated on two levels of analysis. At the first level, we have identified the factors which were presumably linked with social stigma. We have called these factors a configuration of predisposition. These factors would raise, presumably, the probability that a certain individual or group of individuals be branded with social stigma. The second level of analysis is concerned with the actual avenue

which leads to the branding of stigma. This level deals with the dynamic process by which society, or its relevant organs, perform the actual branding of social stigma. On this level we cannot utilise probability concepts but we have to express it in a continuous causal chain. Of the two groups of predisposing factors the first is related to deviant behaviour and the second to value deviation. It should be pointed out that value deviation, deviant behaviour and

MODEL A

A Causal Model of Social Stigma

The Predisposition Configuration of the Stigmatised Deviant Behaviour

1. Autistic
2. Self-destructive
3. Escapist
4. "Bohemian"
5. Accidental
6. Acquisitive
 - I. Occasional
 - II. Semi-professional
 - III. Professional
7. Rebellious
 - I. Chaotic
 - II. Ideational

Value Deviation

1. Previous normative internalisation
2. Subsequent inconsistent normative transmissions
3. Initial conflict of norms
4. Congruity motivated efforts to bridge the normative gap
5. Final value breakdown

The Dynamic Process of Stigmatisation Psychogenic Motives

1. An outlet of aggression
2. Projection of guilt
3. Displacement of resentment
4. The stigmatised as "scapegoat"

Socio-Psychological Pressures

5. The stigmatised as a symbolic source of danger
6. Relative powerlessness
7. Exposure to the source of stigma.
8. "Somebody to look down upon"

Social Level

Social stigma as an act of power

MODEL B

A model of stigma processes, as applied to the etiology of North-African prostitutes, coming from authoritarian families in Israel

Transmission of stigma by the family (mostly the father) and other relevant others

1. Scapegoating as an outlet of aggression and projection of guilt through extra-punitiveness.
2. Authoritarian family, coupled with authoritarian personality of stigmatiser.
3. Change in social position of the parent and/or personal incapacitation.
4. Transmission of stigma with the stigmatiser's deprivational change of social position or personal incapacitation.
5. North-African Jewish families prescribing for girls the internalisation of an ego-identity within the nuclear family, irrespective of its being non-stigmatising or stigmatising.
6. Distortion of age and sex roles in the attitude of the stigmatising father toward his daughter.
7. Scapegoating would be directed by the stigmatising father towards his daughter as a consequence of his tension with his wife.

The girl

1. She would be significantly conspicuous, behaviourally, physically, or by any other trait which would set her apart, as far as her social visibility is concerned.
2. She would be intolerant of ambiguity.
3. Objective perception of the girl's powerlessness by the stigmatising adult.
4. Tendency to conform.
5. A high tendency for other-directedness.
6. The girl would be in a subjective state of mind of powerlessness.
7. She would be subject to an attitudinal definition of conspicuity as related symbolically to the cause of tension.

social stigma would in turn be linked to the total syndrome of social deviation as a dependent variable. The full analysis of these relationships is outside the scope of our present study. The following model A displays, therefore, both the predisposition configuration of stigma and the dynamic processes of stigmatisation.

The dynamic processes of stigmatisation

(1) The relevant processes would be initiated presumably at the formative years, pre-adolescence and adolescence, in a state which is denoted by Erikson (1950, 1956) as ego-diffusion. The technical term is actually not crucial; the importance lies in the focus on the developmental stage of the amorphic plasticity of the personality, the no-man's-land of transition prior to the crystallisation of personality.

(2) The second consecutive stage would coincide with the girl seeking her ego-identity as part of her developing personality.

The predisposing factors of both the parent and the girl as described in Model B would make the stigma of badness, pollution, inadequacy, "source of trouble," and all the other derogatory tags hurled at her in these relevant periods the most readily accessible "raw material" which the girl would internalise as the framework and anchor of her ego-identity. In the tightly-knit North African family, internally cohesive and relatively isolated normatively, the role expectations in the family from the girl, in this case the stigma, would have optimal force and efficacy. We may even go so far as to hypothesise that the stigma projected towards her would be the most relevant component with which the girl constructs her ego-identity.

(3) After the internalisation of the stigma and partial achievement of ego-identity thereby we hypothesise a dichotomous divergence of the facts of stigmatisation as related to Rosenzweig's (1938) conceptualisation and tracing of an individual's reaction to frustration. We may exclude the possibility of the girl reacting in an impunitive passive manner as quite remote. This is so because the extreme stimuli she is exposed to, as hypothesised by us in relation to both the parents' and the girl's predisposition to stigma, would generate presumably an extreme or at least active reaction and not a passive one. The remaining relevant reaction would be either the intropunitive, *i.e.*, relating the causes of failure to herself, or the extrapunitive one, *i.e.*, relating the causes of failure to the outside world, in this case her parents and her family.

(4) In the intropunitive type of reaction the girl would internalise the projected derogatory image as a compliance with the expectations of her socialisers, in this case the stigmatising member of the family. She would then expect a reinforcement of her conduct by the relevant adults by their acceptance of her compliance with an approving attitude towards her. She expects, in a way, her parents to fulfil their part of this "dyadic bargain." Naturally it fails to materialise because no parents would approve cognitively of the "evil" behaviour of their daughter albeit they prescribed this behaviour subconsciously by transmitting stigma on her. Here we have the initial frustration to which the girl has to react. Being intropunitive she would impute to herself the causes of this disharmony between the expectations of her

parents and their actual reaction to her behaviour. She would tend therefore to blame herself for not complying properly enough with the stigmatising expectations of her parents. She would therefore carry on compulsively and ever more extremely the derogatory behaviour prescribed by her parents, expecting thereby a complementary acceptance by them. She is geared of course to receiving subconsciously their transmissions of stigma as inherent in their behaviour towards her. This is to her the actual behavioural mandate to which she imputes legitimacy. The overt vociferous rejection of the parents, which she experiences subsequent to her behavioural compliance with the stigma, is of course perceived by her as a dissonance. However, she would again tend to blame herself for this dissonance resulting in the positive feed-back-cycle of extreme negativistic behaviour, which might result in almost ritualistic performance of the various deviations connected with sexual promiscuity and other breaches of accepted norms. Characteristically, it would not be coupled with the rejection of the stigmatising parents, however harsh they might be in their treatment of her both verbally and physically.

(5) The other extreme manifestation linked with an extrapunitive type of reaction would be as follows: after complying with the derogatory image cast on her and behaving accordingly, *e.g.*, sexual promiscuity, petty larceny, truancy, etc., the girl will also expect an initial reinforcement sanction from the parents. Failing this she would accuse her parents of bringing her to this cognitive dissonance. She will react to her parents' rejection of her by her counter rejection of them. The positive feed-back-cycle in this case would result in a complete separation of the girl from her family with an ultimate severance of all ties between them.

(6) These two alternative etiological avenues are of course extreme instances. They are, so to speak, "pure" theoretical instances which rarely exist in real "life situations." The various possibilities short of the ideal type extreme reaction are also feasible as well as a combination of the two. However, our hypothesis is that these extreme or, in actual instances, almost extreme manifestations would be more probable in the present case. This is so because the very traits which predispose the girl to be a recipient of stigma, *e.g.*, conspicuity, "other-directedness," intolerance of ambiguity, with her resultant compulsive over-conformity to the stigmatised roles projected on her, tend to make her marginal and estranged within the family. We have evidence that marginal individuals would tend to be of higher ego-involvement towards their roles (Sherif and Cantril, 1947, pp. 21, 61). The girl would therefore be more predisposed to alternate extremely in her roles. The choice of either the intro-punitive compulsive conformity to stigma or the extrapunitive rejection and counter-rejection of family cycle would be presumably more imminent in this case.

(7) Ambivalence towards the parents would be more probable with the intro-punitive solution than with the extrapunitive one. In the latter, severance of relationships quite early in the process would physically separate the girl from any contact with her parents. On the other hand, the intro-punitive solution would most likely involve a relatively close proximity between girl and family although the deviation process with the girl has already started. We also hypothesise that affective links between the girl and her family would

continue even if she has physically left the family. Also, we presume that the intropunitive solution would be more likely with our research population of prostitutes from North African authoritarian families, whereas the extrapunitive type of solution would tend to take place with prostitutes of European origin.

Some Overt Initiation Processes

By applying the stigma theory to the genesis of prostitution, we have confined ourselves to the very early levels of causality in the formative years and after within the family. There are still the socio-psychological processes of association which account for the actual recruiting of the girl to the life of prostitution. We shall try and enumerate these stages in order to draw a complete etiological picture; however, we should bear in mind that the focus of the present paper is the stigma theory as applied to the etiology of prostitution, and the subsequent association processes, important as they are, are of secondary concern at present.

These overt processes of initiation may be related to the current criminological theory as follows:

(a) *Differential Identification*. This might be the theoretical step leading the girl from playing the "evil" role as a compliance with the stigma branded on her inside the family to her identification with "evil" i.e., sexual promiscuity, deviation and crime outside the family. Daniel Glaser who actually formulated this premise relied on Meadean social psychology and other symbolic "interactionist" premises and contended that prior to a person's actual criminal behaviour he becomes criminal value-wise and role-wise. He sees himself as a criminal or law violator. When one's self-image is deviant he is ripe for the association with actual criminal patterns of behaviour. In our case the role-playing of the girl as a compliance with the image cast on her would indeed be geared towards "evil," "bad," "dirty" behaviour. However, at this stage, it might as yet be amorphous, to be crystallised eventually by identification with an image of a "good-time-girl," one who stays out at night, one who gets the reputation of being "an easy girl with the boys." The choice of identification with the role of sexual promiscuity would indeed be more imminent in the present case. Although latently we have described some turbulent ambivalences of father-girl relationship, involving the marring of the girl's role as far as her age is concerned and a confounding of her role of daughter with her role of mate bordering on incest, *cognitively* sexual promiscuity is still the epitome of deviation for a girl in an oriental authoritarian family. It becomes likely, therefore, that she acquires a reputation of a "good-time-girl" by associating with boys whom she knows will not marry her but will only help her in her subconscious wish for sexual promiscuity. She would lose her virginity, an unpardonable sin and an act of pollution by itself within the oriental authoritarian family. Worse still, she might become pregnant. At this stage she might leave home of her own accord or be thrown out by her parents; then she is ready for the next stage which is:

(b) *Differential Association*. The actual initiation into criminal or deviant behaviour was believed by Sutherland to be materialised by means of association

with criminal norms and criminal techniques (Sutherland and Cressey, 1960). In our case this process will begin presumably before, and in any case immediately after, the girl has left home. If her first boy-friend left her, which he is bound to do, ironically she is not a virgin any more and he would be reluctant to marry her even though he is the one who availed himself of her virginity. She lives outside home, mostly she will move to town. She will start looking for work and also for a new boy-friend. This is the stage when a pimp steps in. One of the prostitutes in our research population describes the process of actual initiation by association as follows: "When a girl has an abortion and her boy-friend leaves her and does not marry her, her folks make life hell for her and she leaves home. The pimps are after her, they have a special sense to smell her, they 'fall in love' with her, give her everything—money, clothes, good time—and then she has no choice but to do what they say." If she refuses, the pimp may use threats, violence, blackmail. Usually the girl gives in and accepts the first client sent to her—by then she is broken in. Another prostitute might also be instrumental in recruiting the girls; once the girl is in town and looking for a job, the older prostitute invites her to share a room with her. The girl accepts the "kind offer" and there she may be urged, cajoled, and seduced into prostitution. The reason the older prostitute is so eager to recruit new ones is very evident—that the pimp promised her that "if you get a girl to work for us you would not have to work any more and we will get married." The girl herself is often a willing partner to this process of differential association; first, because she is sub-consciously favourably predisposed to this process by her stigmatisation at home and her identification with images of deviant behaviour, in this case sexual promiscuity; secondly, she is isolated and lonely in town, and any company, pimps and other prostitutes inclusive, would be quite welcome. In these circumstances the image of the recruiting pimp and the other prostitutes would be quite glossy and glamorous as the harbingers of the "good and easy life."

(c) *Differential Opportunity Structure*. This as formulated by Cloward and Ohlin (1960) postulates that the awareness by an individual of the limited access to legitimate opportunity may press him to be aware of the availability of illegitimate opportunities. In our case this process would be almost self-evident: we hypothesised that the girl would be very scantily prepared for life in town within the legitimate opportunity structures. Her vocational training would be next to nil and her familial background would make her quite unsuited to achieving any steady occupation while being by herself in a strange environment. With the help of the recruiting pimp and fellow prostitutes her resort to her most readily available means of integration into the illegitimate structure would be highly probable. Naturally, a girl in her 'teens away from home, subconsciously prepared for deviation and sexual promiscuity in a strange new place, cajoled by pimps and prostitutes, might not even go through a motion of resistance; more likely she would be grooved and groove herself into the life of prostitution as the least resistant avenue accessible by her.

CURRENT SURVEY

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ENGLISH PSYCHOPATHS AND THEIR TREATMENT

M. J. CRAFT

PSYCHOPATHY in England and Wales is defined in the Mental Health Act in wide terms which draw attention to a persistent mental disorder, serious irresponsibility and aggression which requires (usually) in-patient admission. Elsewhere (Craft, 1966) it is argued that the disorder is most easily understood as a social syndrome resulting from a developmental delay in learning. Among four initiating factors in pathogenesis, genetically endowed personality traits may predispose the individual, temporal lobe and other damage may increase the risk, unsatisfactory upbringing may propel the subject, but environmental factors of chance play the final part in the subject being labelled as a psychopath. The term "label" is used because it becomes increasingly clear, the longer the experience in the field, that many who would be labelled by

psychiatrists as psychopaths may not receive the same label by prison medical officers, probation officers and welfare workers. Most would agree that the greater the rejection inspired by the subject, and the greater his aggressiveness and his impulsivity, the more likely is he to be labelled psychopath in court.

For London, Lindesay Neustatter (1967) has said that the four things likely to weigh most heavily in court acceptance of psychopathic disorder are:

- (1) unanimous medical opinions;
- (2) clear evidence of impulsivity, that is, that the individual did not plan in advance, nor was likely to profit by, his actions;
- (3) an EEG showing a temporal lobe focus;
- (4) evidence of repeated anti-social actions throughout life so far, apparently uninfluenced by repeated rehabilitative (punitive) measures.

He quotes Barbara Wootton's exposition of the paradox that in this disorder lawyers are, for once, anxious to publicise as many of their client's misdeeds as possible to show how psychopathic he is!

Before discussing treatment proper one should note in passing some of the social factors influencing the number of persons labelled as psychopathic. The first consideration is that, whatever definition of psychopathy is used, the incidence varies widely from community to community. Indeed, some communities appear to produce no psychopaths at all (see Eaton & Weil, 1955; Essen-Muller, 1956; Elwin, 1947).

It has therefore been said that this is a social syndrome having a causal relationship with its social background and is unique among major psychiatric disorders, in that the incidence can fall to zero as a result of particular circumstances of upbringing. One classic feature of psychopathy is individual and community rejection. Yet this is a highly relative term. For instance, in 1964 the intensely competitive society of California apparently needed to forward to penal units proportionally six times more people per head of population than Britain, although at that time both states only convicted those over eight years of age. Nearer home, a convenient but rough yardstick by which to judge community rejection is consignment of adolescents to approved schools or reformatories. The total population of North and Mid-Wales and of Liverpool is the same, yet in one year seven times more Liverpool boys than North Wales boys arrive in the local approved schools—the quality is the same (Craft, 1967), the quantity differs. For the serious student, Home Office figures show the 1965 approved school figures per 100,000 total population in each area to be 11 from North Wales and 83 from Liverpool. In passing, one may note that the proportionate figure from Oxfordshire is three! Here an enthusiastic child-care service takes care to find appropriate residential schooling for the pre-delinquent before a crisis of rejection is reached (Kahan, 1960).

Murder is the extreme aggressive act; the murder rate is one index of aggression. The 1961 British Government pamphlet *Murder*, which did much to ensure abolition of capital punishment in England, gives the annual murder rate per million population as 3·4 for the U.K.; 30–40 for the U.S.A.; 100 for Dallas, Texas (Gibson & Klein, 1961). Clearly an American population whose impulsive psychopaths have free access to guns is justifiably going to be more frightened of them than in England, where guns in general are barred.

The psychopathic trait of impulsivity is difficult to illustrate in terms of a social index. For what it is worth, one may quote social anthropologists here. Spiro (1958), speaking of adolescents in Kibbutzim having little contact with adults and parents, reports that most were highly impulsive and unpredictable at the end of adolescence, with teachers in fear of their classes, while Hutterite adolescents (Eaton & Weil, 1955) brought up in God-fearing paternalism, were found to lack impulsiveness, but also to lack spontaneity. As Mead (1962) has said, each type of child-rearing has its advantages and disadvantages.

Such illustrations allow one only to consider that, if the variables that go to form the syndrome of psychopathy themselves vary, it is likely that the incidence and severity of the syndrome itself will vary.

In discussing treatment of psychopaths in England it may help to avoid a discussion on which patients are or are not true psychopaths by noting certain social indices among them, *e.g.*, whether the patients under discussion are:

- (a) admitted after referral,
- (b) convicted,
- (c) on compulsory court orders under the Ministry of Health,
- (d) in addition have an order restricting discharge (because of public danger) under the Home Office.

There is no point in distinguishing between subnormality and psychopathy variants of compulsory orders, because there is evidence (Mittler, 1965) that they represent an overlapping continuum among convicted persons above I.Q. 60, and it has recently been shown that many patients with I.Q.s over 90 are labelled "subnormal" on "social" grounds (Mittler, 1966).

In England there are four "tiers" in the treatment pyramid for psychopaths. The most severe are sent to the three locked security hospitals of Rampton, Moss Side and Broadmoor, run directly by the Ministry of Health. According to annual reports these have, on average, some 400 diagnosed as psychopathic and a further 600 diagnosed as subnormal under treatment at any one time. These hospitals have to accept all referrals. Although at Rampton and Moss Side there are many patients labelled subnormal, none are admitted unless they show severe psychopathic traits. The reason why the diagnosis of many of these patients has not been changed has been described by two of their superintendents (Dr. McGrath and Dr. McDougall) as "a certain amount of nosological inertia." Without doubt these two groups of patients are the most severe in England and Wales. At Moss Side, for instance, 74 per cent. male and 32 per cent. female admissions are convicted, all on compulsory order, with 32 per cent. of males and 8 per cent. of females on restriction orders.

Treatment in these hospitals has been described as "careful patient training towards social conformity, with a complex system of rewards both social and monetary, and an equivalent range of disincentives, and return to a more strictly structured and closely observed stratum of the hospital society" (McGrath, 1966). Follow-up reports of Special Hospital treatment show that at Moss Side some 10 per cent. of all patients were discharged on licence each

year, although in recent years up to 15 per cent. have departed annually. Looking at this another way, Craft and McDougall (1965) found that of a cohort of 100 Moss Side patients, 75 had been discharged within ten years. At Rampton, Street (1960) found that only 10 per cent. of the population had been there over ten years. A 75 per cent. and more *quantitative* alleviation rate over ten years among the most psychopathic in a 50,000,000-strong country justifies a prognosis of cautious optimism even in groups of the severely psychopathic, but there are also data on English *qualitative* results.

Tong and McKay (1959) followed up some 590 Rampton discharges over the previous ten years. Later articles make it clear that all were on order and most were I.Q. 75-85. The follow-up traced 423, and U.K. criminal files were searched for the remainder. Among the 590, there were 170 further offences, half of this group being convicted and half unconvicted, being returned from their provincial subnormality hospitals. As important as the quantitative success rate is the qualitative finding that among the group:

- 67 admissions for violence fell to 19 among returnees;
- 23 admissions for heterosexual offences fell to 12 with returnees;
- 8 admissions for malicious damage fell to 0.

However, the admissions for breaking and entering rose from 48 to 63 among returnees.

By way of interest, Stürup (1953, 1959) has written extensively on Danish results from the two security hospitals providing 400 beds for the criminal psychopath. These, too, have to accept all referrals. Because these are primarily penal units the Danish label includes a number of recidivists who in Britain would be sent to Parkhurst and Dartmoor. When one considers Stürup's results, therefore, one has to bear in mind that he is including, if Donald West's (1963) results on English recidivists can be extrapolated to Denmark, a large number of inadequate personalities whose main need could be adequate after-care, hostels and jobs.

Stürup (1959) presents an account of 900 admissions from 1935-1953. A 1963 follow-up showed 780 (87 per cent.) of these back in the community. Of the remainder 56 (6 per cent.) were still in mental and penal institutions; 60 (7 per cent.) were dead; four (0.5 per cent.) had emigrated. The original group of 900 were all convicted on a Danish type of penal restriction order, were mainly in the 25-29 age group, I.Q. 70 and upwards, and convicted, on average, three times each. Treatment time, although initially indefinite, is relatively short, for 90 per cent. of property offenders are discharged within three years. There is excellent compulsory long-term after-care, with a constructive work-finding orientation.

Returning to England, the second tier of treatment in the pyramid of community psychopaths are in the non-security N.H.S. general psychiatric hospitals. These are run by committees of local people, and the hospitals may now select admissions. Only one follow-up study is available, this of a group of unselected dullards referred by courts. This is Craft's (1958) follow-up of 41 patients who would now qualify as psychopaths under the new legislation, who on admission to a Devon hospital were all convicted

on compulsory order, had severe personality disorder, and had an average I.Q. of 69. Five years after discharge, from an average six and a half years' treatment, 77 per cent. were in employment, half had married, a quarter had children, a sixth had been reconvicted. Their treatment had been a firm disciplinary work-training programme under the one consultant psychiatrist for this 2,000-bed hospital.

The third part of the tier of treatment in England is illustrated by two further follow-up studies with patients admitted to open psychiatric in-patient units constructed specially for patients with psychopathic traits. Maxwell Jones had a series of 86 consecutive convicted male admissions followed (Tuxford, 1962). About 40 per cent. of referrals were accepted. None of the 86 was on mental health order or restriction order. This postal follow-up was, on average, a year after discharge. Of 72 replies received, 40 per cent. had been reconvicted, 25 per cent. remained in employment. Craft (1965, Chap. 7) did not do much better with a Balderton series. Treatment at this unit was modelled on that of Jones, and accepted some 86 per cent. of referrals. Taking 89 consecutive admissions of males to this unit who were convicted, eight were on mental health order, none on restriction orders. Follow-up just under two years after discharge showed 59 per cent. reconvicted, 48 per cent. back in institutions, 44 per cent. in work. Craft admitted his patients alternately into a permissive and paternalistic treatment group and, on comparing his control series, decided the paternalistic one had done better. Both his permissive and Jones' entire group had been treated on therapeutic community lines, one example continuing today at the 100-bed Henderson Hospital, Belmont, Surrey. In 1964 the director (Taylor, 1966) described it:

"Feelings are shared openly, and the reasons for such feelings discussed in detail. Every community activity is so arranged that it is followed by a period of discussion, and communication from group to group is facilitated by feed-back of all activities to the [main] morning meeting."

"Every encouragement is given for patients to be self-governing and self-treating."

"The atmosphere is permissive; this does not mean, however, that anything goes, and antisocial behaviour is discouraged by social and community pressure."

Unfortunately even now, according to *The Guardian* (January 23, 1967), such patient-orientated methods seem to be poorly appreciated by certain London judges, who demonstrate the classic signs of psychopathy by public stricture and rejection!

Perhaps the most common method of treatment for the personality disordered in London is in out-patient clinics. One of these specialises in care for the behaviour disturbed delinquent, at the Portman Clinic (see Glover, 1960). Here patients may be on probation, but of the nature of things are neither subject to a health order nor a criminal restriction order. Although group therapy enables patients to be seen up to once or twice a week even, and tranquillisers spread the doctors' magic over more of the week, clearly even less responsibility for the patient can be offered to a London judge mindful of the public weal. In fact, treatment must be in terms of helping the

patient to understand and improve himself, using various psychotherapeutic techniques. One of the senior staff at the Portman Clinic describes it thus:

"The Clinic is run on psychoanalytic lines and includes staff with Freudian and Jungian orientation. Patients are selected for treatment, for although courts may freely refer patients for opinion, a much smaller number are taken on for actual treatment. In general it is felt that antisocial patients with a psychopathic personality are not suitable for prolonged treatment. This is used for some of those with character disorders, by which is meant patients having defence mechanism, or a strong neurotic basis for their delinquent actions. Such treatment consists of individual psychotherapy once or twice weekly, with occasional use of group psychotherapy and tranquillisers, etc.

"By psychopathic personality is meant those people with a primitive or immature reaction pattern. Such people have deficient super-ego development, unconcerned denial of the effect of their behaviour, together with an inability to wait, and intense, spontaneous emotional reactions. This behaviour is repetitive, impulsive, and not amenable to learning at out-patient level. Because such people have difficulty in forming stable relationships of any kind, and suspicion and mistrust is often a feature, they may be extremely disruptive in treatment. They do, of course, reflect the markedly disturbed or absent human relationships in their early life.

"It is found that such people respond poorly to individual psychotherapy, due to the enormous hostility to parental figures, which the psychiatrist often represents. He may also arouse fear, due to those patients being hurt repeatedly in the past by emotional attachments to adults being so often broken. They are, therefore, resistive to individual attachments and do better from group learning situations."

The four big groupings of treatment for the psychopath in England today have now been described. It is important to note the results of treatment with the most severe psychopath because, if these are alleviated with time and treatment, it follows that the less severely disordered may also be. Individually, the impulsive psychopath is liable to be unpredictable, so again one learns most from a follow-up. Ideally one should be able to discuss controlled trials of treatment among psychopaths, but there are only two of these, one being that just reported, whilst the other is the famous Cambridge-Somerville study which really concerns pre-delinquent small boys (the McCords, 1959).

Most of the rest of the literature on treatment of psychopaths consists in fact either of uncontrolled trials of drugs with a short-term follow-up of doubtful value, or small groups of out-patients treated by one individual therapist with considerable subjective success. One must not decry these, for, as with mentally sick persons, one would expect psychopaths to respond to an individual relationship once this can be established. Finally, on treatment one should note McKay's (1948) report on the whole unsuccessful trial of leucotomy among psychopathic Rampton patients; the lack of reported long-term success of hypnotists, despite Lindner's (1945) successful short-term report; and the recent flood of papers on the short-term success of tranquillisers such as pericyazine. Whilst conditioning techniques have been tried, also with short-term success, there is no long-term

demonstration of results over a period of years. From the psychopathology of maturation one would expect repeatedly rewarded success and consistently penalised failure in realistic situations to speed up maturation in psychopathy. After all, success in trials of work practice have led to a situation where that analogue of psychopathy, subnormal functioning due to intellectual deficit alone, does not now need admission to hospital at all. Hostels, lodgings and sheltered workshops can now provide a complete answer for those over I.Q. 50 (Craft and Miles, 1967).

One must conclude that, whilst English psychopaths may in general show a tendency towards alleviation with age, the results of treatment with any one patient depend very much upon individual and environmental variables over which the therapist commonly has little control.

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A REVIEW OF 100 DISCHARGES FROM A SPECIAL HOSPITAL

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D. F. PECK⁵

Summary

A PILOT study for the devising of a prediction index and improving follow-up information on patients discharged from Moss Side Hospital is reported. Follow-up information was available on 72 out of the first 100 patients discharged from the beginning of 1961 under the Mental Health Act 1959. Data are given on residence at time of follow-up, re-admissions to Special Hospitals and convictions after discharge. The problem of defining success and failure and the reasons for failure are discussed.

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CURRENT SURVEY

Introduction

The Special Hospitals, Broadmoor, Rampton and Moss Side are for "persons, who in the opinion of the Minister require treatment under conditions of special security on account of their dangerous, violent or criminal propensities." (Mental Health Act 1959). Moss Side Hospital mainly cares for patients categorised under severe subnormality, subnormality and psychopathic disorder.

There is little in the published literature about what happens to patients discharged from the Special Hospitals. 3 per cent. of Broadmoor discharges return to the hospital (McGrath, 1966). Tong and Mackay (1959) reported a follow-up study of 587 male patients discharged from Rampton Hospital in the years 1945-56. They found that 14 per cent. were returned to the hospital and a further 15 per cent. were convicted of offences but were dealt with by the penal system. The antisocial behaviour of the "relapsed cases was found to be less serious in some respects, after leaving the state hospital than was the behaviour of the same men before entering the hospital."

Craft (1966) reports that in the period 1952-62 about a tenth of the patients discharged from Moss Side Hospital returned. In addition Craft reports on 100 consecutive admissions from January 1, 1951, onwards studied in 1962 by which time 70 had been discharged from the Special Hospital system and only 13 per cent. of these discharges had been re-admitted to Special Hospitals.

It is clearly of paramount importance to find out what happens to patients discharged from Special Hospitals. Any evaluation of treatment must be based on adequate follow-up studies. The present study was designed as a pilot survey to see how follow-up information could be improved.

Method

The first 100 patients, males and females, who left Moss Side from January 1, 1961 were taken for study. This date was chosen because the 1959 Mental Health Act came into force in late 1960. The patients were therefore all discharged under the new Act. It also gave a reasonable follow-up period of four to six years.

A brief questionnaire was sent to the hospitals to which the patients were transferred or to the Medical Officers to Health or Mental Welfare Departments of the localities to which they were discharged. The information requested was mainly concerned with subsequent convictions and hospitalisation.

Results and Comments

Patients eliminated from the sample for analysis

Absconded and remained free	3
Died at Moss Side	5
Transferred to Rampton	6
Follow-up questionnaire not returned	9
Questionnaire returned with no follow-up information	4
Mental illness	1
Total	28

We were left with a sample of 72 patients categorised as severely subnormal (16), subnormal (23), psychopathic disorder (7) or subnormal and psychopathic disorder (26) who had been legitimately discharged from the Special Hospital system. It is not possible to estimate the effect on the results of the loss of thirteen patients on whom follow-up information was sought but not obtained, apart from the return rate (see section on "Re-admission to Special Hospital" below).

Description of sample of 72 patients

The average age on admission of the 72 patients was 30 years, 8 months (S.D. 9 years, 8 months), which is considerably higher than the figure given by Tong and Mackay (1959) for a Rampton sample. This is probably for two reasons. First, younger patients were at that time admitted to Rampton because there were school facilities there but not at Moss Side. Since then the situation has changed and Moss Side has two teachers so that many patients under 16 are admitted there now. Second, at that time roughly half of Moss Side admissions were transfers from Rampton who had spent several years there on average before transfer. These two administrative reasons probably account for the greater age on admission to Moss Side.

The average length of stay in Moss Side was 6 years, 5 months (S.D. 5 years 6 months).

The average I.Q. (for the 65 patients on whom test data were available) was 75.4 (S.D. 11.8).

In our sample there were 51 males and 21 females.

26 had been admitted from local subnormality hospitals, 39 from Rampton, six from court or prison, and one was admitted from home.

Only one patient was admitted under the 1959 Mental Health Act. The other 71 patients were admitted under the Mental Deficiency Act.

No convictions prior to admission were recorded for 20 patients, 29 patients had one to three convictions, 16 had four to seven, and seven had over eight convictions prior to admission. Of these convictions 12 were for violence, 11 sexual, 38 property, 11 malicious damage, and 15 others.

Excluding transfers between Special Hospitals, 22 patients had previously been admitted to one of the Special Hospitals.

Discharges were by the following methods:

Mental Health Review Tribunal (10), on leave and not returned (3), discharged direct to the community (2), transferred to local subnormality hospital (52), transferred to local mental hospital (3), other (2). Total 72.

The average length of follow-up for the 72 patients was 4 years, 7 months (S.D. 2 years, 0 months).

Follow-up Results

1. Residence

The following table indicates the whereabouts of the 72 patients when last heard of:—

Died after discharge from Moss Side	4
Living with relatives, lodgings or in own home	17

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In a hospital for the subnormal	19
In a hospital for the mentally ill	1
In Moss Side or Rampton	8
In prison	2
In a school for the deaf	1
Not known	20

2. *Re-admission to Special Hospital*

Among the 72, 16 patients (22 per cent.) were re-admitted to a Special Hospital (15 to Moss Side, one to Rampton).

It was noted above that a number of the patients had been admitted previously, so the sample of 72 does not constitute a sample of first admissions. It is possible that the re-admission rate found here would not occur with a sample of first admissions.

The 13 patients on whom no follow-up information was available and who were excluded from the sample of 72 were known not to have returned to a Special Hospital. If they are included with the 72 to make a group of 85, the percentage of returns falls to 19 per cent. which is probably a more realistic figure than 22 per cent.

3. *Conviction following removal from Moss Side*

Patients convicted but not imprisoned or detained under Mental Health Act	6
Patients convicted and imprisoned (longest sentence—three years)	3
Patients convicted and detained elsewhere under Mental Health Act	4
Patients convicted and returned to Special Hospital	4
Patients convicted, sentence not known	2
Total number of patients convicted with or without detention or imprisonment	19

4. *Removal from local hospital*

Fifty-five patients were transferred to local hospitals of whom 25 had not left the hospital system by the time of the follow-up. Of the 30 discharged from local hospitals to the community 16 were discharged in the first year of transfer from Moss Side.

Success and Failure

The decision as to what is to be regarded as success and what as failure is rather arbitrary. There are varying degrees of success and failure and one can draw the line at any point along this dimension. The rating scale given below illustrates this. Each level excludes lower levels. Thus level 1 would exclude level 4. The figures for the present follow-up are:

	72 discharges
1. Holds job	4
2. Unemployed	*
3. Brief periods of re-hospitalisation	*
4. A few minor offences	4
5. Not discharged from hospital to which he was transferred	21
6. Imprisoned for six months or more or returned to Special Hospital	18†

* There was no information on employment or re-hospitalisation for 22 patients. However none of the 22 was rated below level 3.

† Length of sentence was not known for one patient who was imprisoned and two patients were convicted but the sentence was not known.

What degree of success would be regarded as acceptable and what as unacceptable? What are the guidelines for comparison? If no return to hospital was aimed at, all patients would have to be kept at Moss Side for a very long period. A 50 per cent. return rate is obviously too high. The figures of Tong and Mackay (1959) and Craft (1966) suggest that return rates for Rampton and Moss Side are around 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. for an average length of stay in Special Hospitals of about nine or ten years. Whether this is too long becomes a question of value judgments in the end. We have to balance the risk to the community of discharging patients, against the economic cost of keeping patients in Special Hospitals and the human cost of depriving patients of their liberty.

We would regard patients in category 6 as failures and all the rest as successes. This would give a failure rate for the current sample of 18 out of 72 or 25 per cent.

Discussion

The greatest caution should be exercised in generalising from these results because the sample may well be different from other samples of Special Hospital patients that could be taken. The mean age was higher than Tong and Mackay's (1959) sample of Rampton patients. More definite conclusions must await a larger scale study.

If patients fail on discharge from the Special Hospitals this may be for a number of different reasons. First, there could be poor support facilities outside. A patient may move from the local hospital to which he was transferred and relinquish the support of relatives and social agencies which he may still require. Secondly, facilities for dealing with ex-Special Hospital patients in local hospitals may not be uniform throughout the country so that some are much quicker to return than others. It may even be that a re-admission to a Special Hospital is for less serious behaviour than that which caused a patient's first admission. For this reason any re-admission rate is probably an over-statement when regarded as a measure of treatment failure. Thirdly, chance may be involved. A number of fortuitous occurrences may take place which determine a patient's return. He may be convicted of a crime and the court may send him to prison or to a Special Hospital. It may even be fortuitous that he gets caught at all. Fourthly, there may be an error

in discharge. Of course the R.M.O. and Tribunal members are not prescient and, for instance, would not be able to forecast that a relative to whose care a patient was discharged would die or that a local hospital would discharge him too early. But since discharge is determined by either the clinical judgment of the R.M.O. or by Committee decision of the Mental Health Review Tribunal then errors are inevitable. This is particularly true where the body of scientific knowledge on which such judgments depend is almost completely lacking. As McGrath (1967) has said concerning Broadmoor patients "... criteria of discharge are still hard to establish. . . ." This paper presents the first tentative steps towards building a sound basis for prediction of later careers of Moss Side discharges. What is needed is the application of the methods for devising a prediction index of later adjustment which are well established in the study of delinquents and criminals (Grygier, 1966). The next stage in devising a prediction index will be to relate pre-admission data, of the sort mentioned in the section "Description of the sample of 72" given above, to success and failure on follow-up.

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AUSTRALIAN ATTITUDES TO THE POLICE: A PILOT STUDY

DUNCAN CHAPPELL * and PAUL WILSON †

COMMENTATORS on the Antipodean way of life have long identified a strong anti-authoritarian streak among Australians. It is an attitude which perhaps first became evident to the outside world during the course of two World Wars when Australian troops gained the reputation of having little respect for military symbols of authority. Within Australia, anti-authoritarian attitudes

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have more recently been said to account for the average citizen's view of "the police as enemies, army officers as traitors to democracy . . . the boss as a barely necessary evil and anyone who gives an order as deeply suspect." (McGregor, 1966, p. 43).

Because of the Australian's hostility towards those in power over him, it has been claimed that "relations between the police and the public are probably worse in Australia than anywhere else in the world" (*Ibid.*, p. 81). No evidence has been provided to support this sweeping statement, although it is a view quite frequently expressed in Australia. Some commentators have sought to trace this resentment of the police back to Australia's origins as a penal colony. In the early days of settlement, there was considerable conflict between the people and those in authority. This conflict was later renewed in the days of the gold rush when police and miners clashed on a number of occasions. Further bitter clashes occurred between the police and the people during the great maritime strikes towards the end of the nineteenth century, and in the depression between the two World Wars.

Whatever the origins of the Australians' alleged hostility towards authority in general, and the police in particular, no objective study has yet been made of the state of relations between the police and the public in Australia. The authors have therefore embarked upon a research project which seeks, as its principal aim, to establish objectively and authoritatively both what the Australian public think of the police and what the police think about the public. This note is devoted to a brief description of the project, and the results of a recently completed pilot study of relations between the police and public in one Australian city.

The methods of study

A detailed model for a study of relations between the police and public already exists in the form of an inquiry, undertaken in 1960, for the United Kingdom Royal Commission on the Police, by the Government Social Survey (Morton-Williams, 1960). In this inquiry, personal interviews were conducted in England, Scotland and Wales with members of the police and the public, using standard questionnaires. Interviews, which covered a wide and varied range of subjects, were intended to determine police and public attitudes towards each other, and towards the policeman's role in modern society.

To enable comparisons to be made with the findings of this and any similar inquiries, the authors have adopted, as far as possible, the same methods of study in their Australian survey of relations between the police and public. Certain modifications have had to be made to the standard questionnaires used in the United Kingdom inquiry so that they suit Australian conditions.

Given ideal conditions, the authors would have planned to conduct interviews with members of the police and public throughout Australia over the same period of time. But to sample nationwide opinion in this way, in a country the size of Australia, is an extremely costly undertaking, well beyond the means of most researchers, including the authors. Accordingly, it has been decided to undertake separate surveys of relations between the police and the public in each State of Australia, the time period elapsing between surveys

depending upon the availability of finance. To date only a pilot study has been completed.

The pilot study area

The pilot study was carried out in the city of Canberra during a two-week period in September 1966. Canberra, the Federal capital of Australia, was selected as the pilot study area because its relatively small and compact population facilitated sampling and interviewing. Situated in the Australian Capital Territory about 200 miles from Sydney and 300 miles from Melbourne, Canberra had, at the time of the pilot study, a population of about 90,000 persons.

The 938 square miles of the Australian Capital Territory, including Canberra, are policed by the Australian Capital Territory Police Force of some 170 members. The force, which is independent of other State police forces, is ultimately responsible to the Federal Minister for the Interior.

The sample of the population

The method used to obtain a sample of the Canberra population to interview differed substantially from the sampling procedure adopted in the United Kingdom inquiry.¹ Respondents were drawn by first stratifying Canberra households by area, and then randomly selecting households to yield a 0.5 per cent. sample of houses throughout the city. Individual respondents to be interviewed from each household were then selected randomly, a total of 250 interviews being obtained.

Some findings of the pilot study

The 250 informants were asked a wide range of questions during interviews. However, it is only possible to refer here to some of the more significant and interesting findings of the pilot study.

1. Public respect for the police

In an attempt to obtain some measure of the general respect members of the public had for the police, informants were asked the question: "Considering everything about the way the police do their job, would you say that you had a great respect for the police, little respect for them, or mixed feelings about them?"

This question was also put to informants in the United Kingdom survey. The answers received in this, and the Canberra study, are compared in Table 1.

It will be seen from Table 1 that the general respect for the police was much lower than in the United Kingdom. Of those interviewed in Canberra only 60 per cent. said that they had great respect for the police compared with 83 per cent. of those interviewed in the United Kingdom. An analysis of the public's respect for the police by sex and motoring experience also reveals considerable differences between Canberra and the United Kingdom. Both surveys indicate that respect for the police increases with age, but lack of

¹ For a description of this procedure see Appendix IV, *op. cit.*, *supra*, pp. 2-3.

TABLE I

Amount of respect for the Police in the United Kingdom and Canberra by motoring experience and sex
(all figures expressed as percentages)

	Total Sample		Motorist		Non-Motorist		Males		Females	
	Canberra	U.K.	Canberra	U.K.	Canberra	U.K.	Canberra	U.K.	Canberra	U.K.
Great respect	60	82.7	41	79.7	78	84.1	55	80.6	65	84.7
Little respect	6	0.5	10	0.4	2	0.5	6	0.6	5	0.4
Mixed feelings	28	15.9	36	19.4	20	14.3	32	18.2	24	13.7
Don't know	6	0.9	13	0.5	0	1.1	7	0.6	6	1.2
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	250	2,605	162	772	88	1,833	131	1,261	119	1,344

equivalent age categories makes only rough comparisons possible. For example, in the lowest age group represented in the United Kingdom survey (18-21) 63 per cent. expressed great respect for the police while in the nearest equivalent Canberra group (17-21) only 25 per cent. expressed great respect. At the other end of the age scale (46 and over), in the United Kingdom 88 per cent. of informants expressed great respect for the police compared with 82 per cent. in Canberra.

The extremely large difference in respect for the police shown by motorists and non-motorists in Canberra is very much more marked than the difference found in the United Kingdom survey. In both surveys females were found to have greater respect for the police than males.

As in the United Kingdom survey, no marked variations were found in the Canberra study in the respect for the police among different social classes. However, when Canberra informants were divided into four major occupational groups, namely, members of the armed forces, public servants, university staff and students, and others, some interesting results emerged. 80 per cent. of informants who were in the armed forces said they had great respect for the police, while at the other extreme only 21 per cent. of university staff and students acknowledged that they had great respect. The public servants, as one might perhaps predict, fell between these two groups, 60 per cent. stating they had great respect for the police.²

Other questions asked in the Canberra study showed that the majority of informants, like those in the United Kingdom survey, thought it most unlikely that the police took bribes, or used unnecessary force in making arrests. But a substantial proportion of persons interviewed in Canberra were of the opinion that the police occasionally twisted evidence in court to secure a conviction (40 per cent. Canberra; 32 per cent. United Kingdom), or used unfair methods to obtain information from people (46 per cent. Canberra; 35 per cent. United Kingdom).

Prima facie, it might be concluded from this comparison of the Canberra and United Kingdom surveys, that the state of relations between the police and the public is much worse in Canberra, and possibly in Australia, than in the United Kingdom. However, large though the difference may be in the respect for the police shown in the two surveys, this difference may, in part, only reflect variations in the proportion of motorists and young people among informants in the Canberra and United Kingdom surveys.

Of those interviewed in Canberra, 65 per cent. were motorists, compared with only 29 per cent. in the United Kingdom survey. Similarly, 12 per cent. of Canberra informants were under the age of 25, compared with 8 per cent. of United Kingdom informants. Since in both surveys motorists and young people were the two sections of the public most critical of the police, it is not really surprising that the general respect for the police was found to be lower in Canberra than in the United Kingdom. As was emphasised in the United Kingdom survey report, relations between these two sections of the public and the police gives cause for concern "as the growing number of motorists."

² 61 per cent. of the "other occupations" group said they had great respect for the police.

and the increase in the number of reported crimes committed by young people suggests that the situation will deteriorate rather than improve unless some means can be found to reduce the difficulties that appear to exist between them" (Morton-Williams, p. 43). The Canberra survey findings not only lend support to this view of future trends in relations between the police and the public, but point again to the need for new and effective measures to prevent the situation deteriorating further in the United Kingdom, and Australia.

2. *Public contact with the police*

Despite the critical attitude of motorists and young people towards the police, it would seem that most of the informants in the Canberra survey, like their United Kingdom counterparts, found from personal experience that the police were usually polite and helpful. When asked the question: "Have you personally *ever* found the police to be impolite or unhelpful, or have they *always* been polite and helpful as far as you were concerned?" 69 per cent. of those interviewed in Canberra (90 per cent. in the United Kingdom) answered that the police had always been polite and helpful. Only 11 per cent. of informants said the police had sometimes been impolite and unhelpful (10 per cent. in the United Kingdom). The remainder of the informants in both surveys had had no personal contact with the police and were therefore unwilling to give an answer to this question.

In Canberra, as in the United Kingdom, it was found that approximately four out of every ten people interviewed had at some time asked for police assistance. In general, those who requested assistance were satisfied with the police response. The main reason given for dissatisfaction in the Canberra survey was that the police were not concerned enough about the matter for which assistance was requested. This, of course, does not necessarily indicate that the police were at fault. In some cases, for example, it was not possible for the police to assist because of lack of appropriate power. Nevertheless, this particular reason for public dissatisfaction indicates how important it is, if relations between the police and the public are to be improved, for the police to explain carefully why they are unable to assist in certain circumstances.

Informants in Canberra, as in the United Kingdom, were also asked what they thought was the most important quality which a policeman should have. A majority answered in both surveys that a good character and strong sense of duty were the most important qualities, while about one-quarter of those interviewed thought intelligence and a good education were the most important qualities. It is interesting to observe that, unlike official Australian police recruiting policies which tend to place great emphasis on physical standards, only 3 per cent. of the Canberra informants (all of whom were women!) thought a good physique was the most important quality a policeman should have.

3. *Arming the police*

The authors are aware that the question whether or not some or even all policemen should be issued with firearms has been hotly debated in the United Kingdom in recent years. The same question has given rise to controversy in

Australia. However, unlike the United Kingdom, many policemen in Australia are armed. In the State of New South Wales, for instance, all 6,000 members of the police force are issued with pistols, and are required to carry these weapons with them whenever they are on duty. Most of the other police forces in Australia, including the Australian Capital Territory Force, issue all members with firearms, but only require police serving in certain branches, such as the C.I.D., always to carry these firearms with them while on duty.

Whatever the nature of the arguments for or against arming policemen, little if any attempt has been made in Australia to test public opinion on the subject. A question was therefore included in the Canberra survey about the issue of firearms to members of the Australian Capital Territory Force. Informants were asked whether they thought all, some or no members of the force should be armed. The answers obtained showed that only 34 per cent. of informants thought all police should be armed, 40 per cent. some, and 23 per cent. none.

Clearly the present practice of issuing arms to all members of the force does not have the approval of the majority of Canberra residents. This finding found support some weeks after the completion of the survey when a member of the Australian Capital Territory Force, for no apparent reason, fired a round from his revolver whilst off duty. The bullet shattered a child's bedroom window in a house some distance from where the shot was fired. The incident resulted in a storm of public protest against arming all policemen, and calls for much stricter controls on the use of firearms by police. This, and a number of recent incidents in other States where police have shot dead unarmed criminals seeking to escape apprehension, has given cause for considerable public anxiety. There is a need for a close study to be made of the present Australian policy of arming most policemen, and for an examination of the effect of this policy on the state of crime in general.

Future research

It is regrettable that future plans for this project have been rather hampered by lack of police co-operation. The authors were refused permission to administer questionnaires to members of the Australian Capital Territory Force, and a number of other forces have, at this stage, also declined to participate in the project.

However, one significant advance has been made. Following the publicity given to the Australian pilot study, the New Zealand police have suggested that the authors undertake a survey of the state of relations between the police and the public in New Zealand. It is proposed to proceed with this survey in the near future. The results should be most interesting. Both the Canberra and United Kingdom surveys have indicated that the motorist is particularly critical of the police. The New Zealand police force is almost unique when compared with other police forces in that it does not have to deal with motorists, a separate public body coping with all problems associated with public and private transport including motoring offences and offenders. Thus, a comparison of information obtained in a New Zealand survey of relations between the police

and the public with equivalent Australian and United Kingdom information should be particularly enlightening.

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SECOND REPORT OF THE STUDY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PRE-SENTENCE INVESTIGATIONS IN REDUCING RECIDIVISM

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Introduction

THE findings of the first stage of a study aimed at assessing the value of pre-sentence reports was published in this journal in July 1966. That study had compared the reconviction records of two samples of offenders: one dealt with under a new scheme in which reports were made available in most cases, the other dealt with before this scheme came into operation. Broadly, the conclusions were that the increased use made of the practice of obtaining probation and other reports prior to sentencing had not led to a substantial fall in the proportion of offenders reconvicted. The statistics did show a slight improvement under the scheme, but this could have been due to sampling errors (*i.e.*, another sample might have shown no such improvement). It was decided to extend the study in two directions:

1. to repeat the first study by taking a sample of 100 male offenders and all females sentenced in the period October 1963–October 1964: the offenders again being followed up for a two-year period.
2. to put into operation the proposals outlined at the end of the first report. This would entail studying how magistrates use the information provided in pre-sentence reports in reaching their decisions. A two-stage process was suggested:
 - (i) at the time the offender was convicted, and before the remand was ordered, the bench concerned would record what sentence it would consider appropriate *at that time*. If no remand was ordered the bench would state its reasons for taking this action,
 - (ii) when the offender reappeared after remand, the bench would give its *reasons* for either altering or confirming the sentence originally contemplated.

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We wish to record our thanks for help given by the Sunderland Magistrates' Courts Committee, Sunderland Police and the Durham County Probation Service.

CURRENT SURVEY

A Follow-Up of Offenders Sentenced during 1963-64 (Sample C)

A. Comparative Reconviction Rates

Table 1 shows how offenders dealt with in 1963-64 compared with those dealt with before the scheme (Sample A, 1959-61) and a short while after the scheme had got under way (Sample B, 1961-63):

TABLE 1

Comparative Reconviction Rates for Samples A, B and C

	Any subsequent reconviction	No reconviction	Reconvicted of an indictable offence	Two or more subsequent court appearances	Sub. sent to prison, borstal or detention	Reconvicted within one year of original offence
Sample A (1959-61) 100 males	43	57	36	23	19	32
Sample B (1961-63) 100 males	42	58	30	12	14	23
Sample C (1963-64) 100 males	46	54	35	16	16	29

A larger proportion of Sample C were reconvicted than in either A or B. The drop in the proportion reconvicted of an indictable offence found for Sample B was not maintained: C was similar to A. In other ways, as well, the slight improvements noted in the first report in respect of Sample B were not continued.

B. Comparing previous records of offenders in Samples A, B and C

When previous records were compared it was seen that those in Sample C were "worse risks" for treatment than those in either A or B.

The proportions reconvicted of an indictable offence in Samples A and C were compared with the proportions in those samples having two or more previous convictions.

TABLE 2

A Comparison of Previous and Subsequent Convictions for Samples A and C

	Percentage with two or more previous court appearances for indictable offences	Percentage reconvicted of an indictable offence
Sample A	28	36
Sample C	39	35

It can be seen that although similar proportions are reconvicted, those in Sample C started off with a worse record. In other words, the proportion reconvicted in Sample C is lower than would be expected if the scheme were

making no impact. This result could only appear by chance in one sample in a hundred.¹

This result clearly alters the rather pessimistic conclusion of the previous report and appears to suggest that what could only be called "an encouraging trend" has continued.

It seems a reasonable hypothesis that the bench improved in its ability to make effective use of reports in sentencing, the longer the scheme was in operation. In other words, the magistrates gained by experience.

C. Other Analyses

The main findings of other comparisons between Sample C and the original samples A and B were:

- (i) A higher proportion were fined in Sample C than in B. In fact sentencing practice was reverting to the pre-scheme pattern, *i.e.*, more like Sample A.
- (ii) Of the 46 cases in which no remands were made probation reports were already available in 24. On the other hand, in 16 cases no information was sought or available, mainly because the offence was considered too serious or trivial. 13 of the 16 cases sent to detention centre were not remanded.

The Extended Scheme

The new scheme, as outlined in the introduction, began on May 11, 1966, with the full co-operation of the Bench. We have analysed the forms filled in by the benches up to February 3, 1967.

Over this period 174 cases were dealt with by the court. In 92, remands for inquiry were made and in 44 cases this resulted in a change of the decision originally contemplated. Put the other way round, magistrates did *not* change their minds in about half the cases.

The Bench rarely stated why it reached the decision it did. It contented itself with various circumlocutions all meaning that there was nothing to make it change its mind. Only one "reason" gave any clue as to why the decision was reached.

Much the same conclusions can be drawn from the reasons given for changes in decisions. The majority of statements recorded that the report had disclosed a need for supervision or detention, or alternatively showed that supervision was not necessary. The Bench did not record what specific items of information had led to these conclusions.

The study clearly shows that a general request for "reasons" shed little light on the way information available in pre-sentence reports is used in sentencing. However, the Bench did feel that the exercise had been extremely useful from their point of view and it seems to have affected sentencing practice. An analysis of the direction of change in the decisions reached before and after reports were presented showed that original sentences of fines or detention centre were often changed to probation. A "profit and loss" account shows:

¹ $\chi^2 = 6.91$, 1 degree of freedom. Significant at the 1 per cent. level.

CURRENT SURVEY

TABLE 3

	Probation	Fine	Detention	Other sentences
Gain (change to)	18	7	4	7
Loss (change to)	5	21	11	—
Net gain	13	—	—	7
Net loss	—	14	7	—

The gain to probation was, however, very temporary. In the year May 1967–May 1968, probation and detention each had a net loss of five, fines a net gain of thirteen. On this evidence, reports do not, in the long run, seem likely to increase substantially the use of probation for 17–21 year olds.

NOTES

CRIMINAL STATISTICS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES *

G. N. G. ROSE

FROM 1955 to 1964 the upward trend in recorded crime remained fairly steady—an annual increase of approximately 10 per cent. Since then the trend has been less pronounced, and the 1967 figure, about 1.2 million indictable offences, represents an increase of less than 1 per cent. over 1966. Some crime figures have continued to grow, whilst others have decreased. The murder rate is now the highest since 1950, and there is no halt in the upward trend of other violence against the person. However, robbery, which had until 1966 been one of the most rapidly growing crimes, increased by only 2 per cent. in 1967. The important crimes which have decreased in 1967 are notably breaking offences, thefts of motor vehicles and thefts from unattended vehicles; there is also a downward trend in prosecutions for unauthorised taking of motor vehicles, so that crimes of dishonesty involving motor vehicles have generally fallen.

One aspect of the statistics which gives rise to some optimism is the clear-up rate which has, for the second year running, increased by 1 per cent., and now stands at 41.2 per cent. The number of persons found guilty of indictable offences was 242,208, an increase of 4 per cent. over 1966. The figures on sentencing show very little change in the ways in which offenders were dealt with over the last three years, and we must, of course, wait for the 1968 statistics before an assessment can be made of the new provisions for suspended sentences. The use of cautioning by the police also increased by about 4 per cent. in 1967; although the number of adults dealt with in this way is increasing, the statistics show that cautioning is still used principally for the very young offender.

* *Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, 1967* London: H.M.S.O. Cmnd. 3689. 32s. 6d.

NOTES

The figures on non-indictable offences show that convictions for the more serious of these offences, classified by the Home Office as "akin to indictables" have fallen by about 2 per cent. to 75,177. Non-indictable motoring offences, convictions for which were well over a million, continued their steep upward trend with a growth rate exceeding 11 per cent. Convictions for offences involving motor vehicle licences have risen by 40 per cent. but for other non-indictable offences the increase has been no more than 2.5 per cent.

A NEW JOURNAL

It is a pleasure to welcome the publication of a new journal—*The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*. The Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology was founded in October 1967 with the Hon. Sir John Barry as President and Mr. D. Biles (Criminology Dept., Univ. of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria. 3052.) as Secretary. Dr. A. Bartholomew, who is well-known to readers in England, is the Editor of the Journal.

The first number includes articles upon the test performances of prisoners, on tests of attitude change in probation officers after training, and a discussion of the relationship between social research and welfare. The leading article, however, is highly original in type and would be difficult to imitate abroad. It is the transcript of a legal decision about whipping. His Hon. Judge Rapke observed that in the case of robbery with violence he had discretion to award a punishment of whipping, but that he was "completely uninformed by any background information or any criminological material as to what are the proper considerations to apply" in arriving at a decision. He therefore asked for a criminologist and a psychiatrist to submit reports on the general and the individual considerations. Their reports and the Judge's comments and sentence make extremely interesting reading.

T. C. N. G.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

REVIEWS

CONTROLLING DELINQUENTS. Edited by STANTON WHEELER with the editorial assistance of HELEN MACGILL HUGHES. [New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1968. xx + 332 pp. 75s.]

As sociology and criminology take halting steps away from the positivist conception of the deviant, several approaches to useful theory suggest themselves. The concern of interactionist theory with the way in which the deviant is defined by societal reactions to isolated infractions of laws, norms and values is one approach. It may be more useful for sociologists to examine the *process* by which the official and unofficial agencies of society come to define individuals as deviant, and examine the *functions* for the social system of these definitions, than it will be simply to examine the distributions, pathologies or "problematic features" of deviance.

One possible reason why interactionist theory is not more widely heralded—in official criminology or in sociology—is that the theoretical emphasis does not easily yield, or has not yet yielded, either useful policy recommendations or theoretically dense accounts of substantive areas of social life. The audience is polite; the idea is interesting—but what usefulness does it have (for policy or theory generation)?

Stanton Wheeler's book implicitly demonstrates the usefulness of the approach. Stemming originally from the encouragement given to "demonstration programs in delinquency prevention control" by the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act 1961, the book is unambiguous in its commitment to policy, but the fact is that this (unusually) does not do violence to theory.

This observation is particularly true of the earlier chapters (Part One: The Social Organisation of Delinquency Control) in which the concern is to point out the formal and informal differences that arise in the organisations committed to delinquency control. The importance of these chapters is precisely that they indicate empirical directions for interactionist theory: that is, they illuminate some of the problems in specifying the way in which different reactions to delinquents will arise in different organisations, and the way in which the delinquent might react to these differences.

For example, James Q. Wilson, a political scientist, contributes an interesting analysis of two police departments. One of these he characterises as a "professional" force, committed to the universal application of the law and the recruitment of highly-trained graduates; the other is seen as a "fraternal" force, in which the standards of the "professional" force are not reproduced. Many of the members of this force are graduates of the local delinquent subculture: they retain some identification with them. The ideology of the

fraternal force, for these and other reasons, does not identify the adolescent as "a good pinch." Wilson demonstrates that the police in the fraternal force are not concerned so much to see the adolescent in court, but that importantly they are concerned that the adolescent they do process to the courts should be "severely" dealt with. This corrective to universalistic stereotypes of the police is pursued by Wheeler and others in a comparative report on various agencies. Factors of ideology and power are seen as the important determinants of the relationship between police and delinquents, and police and other agencies. So the court is seen ideologically by the police as "a way station into correctional institutions," where for the probation department it may be the proper forum for the discussion of the child's best interests. In terms of power, the occupational groups involved in the agencies are interested in retaining control of their particular domain. These factors account for the desire of the police to keep a child out of court and in the hands of their own juvenile officers, interpreting their powers of discretion less severely. Now it is crucial to pursue these findings by examining the reactions of adolescents themselves to the contacts they have had with these agencies—not only because the gap between the espoused ideology and real practice of the agencies may be extremely wide, but also because we cannot continue to assume that we know much about the way adolescents defined as deviant perceive their world. Wheeler stresses continually in his contributions to the book that there is little unanimity in American agencies about their purposes and goals, and ponders on the effect of this particular variety of "disorganisation" on delinquents. We can only speculate at this stage about the extent of these problems in our (formally) more centralised system of delinquency control. It would, however, be suggestive (for interactionist theory and correctional practice) to follow delinquents through comparable British agencies, and particularly to replicate Wheeler's comparative analysis in areas where the role of the police is similarly ambiguous, *e.g.*, in forces which operate Juvenile Liaison Schemes.

Wheeler is above all successful in qualifying the simpler stereotypes of received criminology. He concludes, for example, from a highly original treatment of judicial behaviour that "... the judges who take the most severe actions are those who read more about delinquents, who read from professional journals, who do not wear robes in court, and who are more permissive in outlook. They are also the younger judges. . . ." This he explains in terms of the heightened awareness of these judges to the "pathologies" implied by the fact of a court appearance. And this leads on naturally to the sections in Part Two where an attempt is made to explore the meaning for adolescents of being sent away "in their own interests" to correctional institutions. All this is highly original material; it would benefit from further investigation in our own culture. In terms of interactionist theory, for example, we could examine what features will distinguish the delinquent definition that arises from "therapeutic" sentencing from the definition made in traditional terms.

Elsewhere in this extremely full book Walter Miller advances a complex theoretical scheme for explaining the reactions of organisations concerned with delinquency in Boston to the Mid-city Project. This particular chapter is, however, unsatisfactory in that the scheme and the explanations do not appear

to be based very clearly on the data provided (particularly the notion of the different "operating styles" of lower-class-oriented and middle-class-oriented agencies). It may be that the fuller treatment of this promised in Miller's forthcoming *City Gangs* will clarify these ambiguities.

This book is immensely suggestive for theory construction. It will be of more general interest for its inclusion of several empirical studies (notably two chapters on child guidance clinics, which examine the way in which decisions about treatment are affected by the original referral—and not the symptoms themselves—and examine the progress of the unsuccessful applicants). It is an inter-disciplinary effort, and, for once, an inter-disciplinary audience will not be disappointed.

Ian Taylor

A Validation Study of Hewitt and Jenkins' Hypothesis. By ELIZABETH FIELD.
(London: H.M.S.O. 1967. Home Office Research Unit Report No. 10.
21 pp. 2s. 9d.)

HEWITT and Jenkins investigated the behaviour and family backgrounds of 500 maladjusted children referred to the Michigan Child Guidance Institute more than twenty years ago. They tried to demonstrate the existence, within this population, of several distinct syndromes of behavioural disturbance, and presented information in support of the view that each of three principal syndromes was the outcome of a different kind of distortion of family relationships. Their methods were simple and—by modern standards—rather crude; but the general approach which they adopted has considerably influenced later research into the nature and origins of maladjustment.

Miss Field examined a sample of boys in British approved schools in order to see whether their problem behaviour reflected the syndromes described by Hewitt and Jenkins, and (if that should be the case) whether they were similarly related to different patterns of parent-child interaction. Neither of these expectations was fulfilled: two of the three syndromes were discernible, but accounted for a much smaller proportion of the series of cases, and it proved impossible to show any systematic connexion with patterns of family relationships. This result should occasion no surprise. The sample was defined by commitment by the courts, which was the case in only 9.2 per cent. of the Michigan group; it differed in consisting only of boys (and these differently distributed in terms of age); it was drawn from a very different socio-cultural milieu nearly two decades later. To confuse matters even further, Miss Field was obliged to modify or reinterpret categories and behavioural descriptions to such an extent that it is absurd to claim this (as she does) as "an attempt to replicate" the Hewitt and Jenkins investigation. It is particularly unfortunate that the pamphlet should bear the title *A Validation Study*, which conveys the misleading impression that the research has tested (and by implication, found wanting) the validity of the American authors' analysis of the population with which they were dealing: in fact it has merely shown that the specific patterns which they found do not obtain here. Even this conclusion depends upon the

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attainment of a reasonable degree of equivalence between the definitions and categories employed, and there is no evidence that this was achieved. It is odd to find no indication of collaboration with a member of the original Michigan team.

Miss Field makes an attempt to attach a theoretical interpretation to these inconclusive findings, but this is brief and rather superficial. She advances several criticisms of the methods adopted by Hewitt and Jenkins, some of which appear to this reviewer to be sweeping and unfair. A characteristically lucid note by Mr. MacNaughton-Smith explains the statistical techniques which were applied to the data.

Gordon Trasler

HOMOSEXUALITY. By D. J. WEST. (2nd Ed., rev.). [London: Duckworth. 1968. 304 pp. 35s.]

THIS book, which was first published in 1955, has now been completely re-written and expanded to bring in all the new material. It is a very thorough summary of the literature; the references which originally contained 160 items now list 395 titles. Dr. West picks his way through the many attempts to explain the cause of homosexuality, describing each theory concisely and fairly. The psychoanalysts on their own have a long and varied list of explanations which include anal fixation (Freud), incestuous guilt feelings (Freud), mother fixation (Fenichel), narcissism (Freud, again), fear of the devouring vagina (Klein), parent's permissiveness (Kolb and Johnson), the urge to subdue others (Horney), the fear of asserting oneself (Ovesey), abnormal dependency needs (Thompson). It may seem that Dr. West is a little bit too fair and tolerant to those of us who have spent some time trying to dispel the myths that have grown up around this subject. One authority attributes the prevalence of homosexuality to the pernicious influence of the Italian opera. Dr. West's own view is that children are not born with the sex instinct specifically directed to one sex or the other, and exclusive preference for the opposite sex is an acquired trait which involves the repression of a certain amount of homosexual feeling which is natural to the human being.

Although the section on treatment is re-written, it has not been possible to report much progress in the last thirteen years. Behaviour therapy appears to be no more successful than the traditional psychiatric approach. One suggestion new to me is that a specially trained prostitute should be used as a form of treatment. There is an excellent chapter on the aims of treatment which questions the whole idea of "cure" when this means trying to turn a homosexual into a heterosexual. Sometimes a tricky question arises as to which is preferable: neurotic symptoms due to ill-repressed homosexual desires, or homosexual desires undisguised. Much of the harm is caused by social hostility which seems to be lessening, but orthodox church teaching still insists that homosexual acts are always wrong.

Reading the chapters on the new law makes me feel that the Sexual Offences Act of 1967 was only a small step forward after all that talk and bluster. A

recent case in the Midlands has shown that youths under twenty-one may still be sent to borstal for homosexual acts in private.

All in all this is an excellent book. My only quibble would be with the sentence: "Few famous homosexuals have been radical reformers." I would have thought the opposite was true, but it is difficult to name names. This careful collecting and summarising of all the relevant material is a most useful service and there is no doubt that Dr. West is the best man to do it. I hope he will continue to do this every ten years or so.

Michael Schofield

DIE SUBKULTUR DES GEFANGNISSES (SUBCULTURE OF PRISONS). By STEFFEN HARBORDT. [Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag. 1967. vii + 117 pp DM. 24.]

THIS small volume represents the first of a series of studies on *Strafvollzugswissenschaft* (which might be translated as "science of sanctions") edited by Württenberger and Müller-Dietz. The editors justify the undertaking of such a series by the need for a comprehensive scientific discussion of the theory and practice of punishments, involving the deprivation of liberty, which would cross the boundaries of normative-legal and empirical-social approaches.

The present volume is an auspicious beginning for the series since it explores systematically the process of "prisonisation" from admission to release. There is little that is new in terms of material or approach, but one finds a tightly argued, well-organised survey of the literature in the field across national and professional lines.

Harbordt starts with the proposition that prisons cannot be seen as instruments of re-socialisation but of de-socialisation, and most of the stated goals of prisons can at best be only anticipatory—i.e., oriented towards release. The discrepancy between the goals of the system and the actual cultural experience of the prisoner is examined in a structural-functional analysis. One is impressed by Harbordt's ability to integrate information from statistical studies to biographical accounts. He deals predominantly with the traditional prison, in which custody is the over-riding goal and determines the role of staff as well as prisoners, and the interaction of the two hierarchies and the reward-punishment system. The prison guard carries the greatest stress since his behaviour is determined by prison rules as well as inmate demands which are mostly in conflict. Security can only be maintained through the co-operation of inmates, especially the influential ones, and thus a system of negotiations arises. Distance between inmates and staff is kept by the process of stereotyping and mutual contempt. Many of the structural-functional arrangements in prisons conflict with correctional goals and the lack of success of prisons in terms of re-socialisation has to be seen as a systemic effect rather than individual shortcomings of the personnel.

Much of this is well recognised by now. What the book does, however, is to trace the processes in detail in terms of acculturation, values, norms, attitudes and roles of the participants, as well as the reinforcing qualities of

the system itself. Although the Anglo-American literature provides in many ways the basis of the book, it is difficult to think of a comparable volume in English which could serve as a concise but comprehensive basic text.

J. W. Mohr

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. By THORSTEN SELLIN (Ed.). [New York and London: Harper and Row. 1967. 290 pp. 28s.]

THE symposium edited by Thorsten Sellin on capital punishment is international in character and covers all the aspects familiar to those who concern themselves with this subject. The United States itself provides some of the most useful information. This is because it has both retentionist and abolitionist states in which murder trends can be compared. There are also some states which have experimented with abolition so that it is possible to follow murder rates before and after abolition, and sometimes again after its re-introduction.

From all this it follows that there is no evidence that the removal of the death penalty causes an increase in murder or that its re-introduction is followed by a decline. The reasons for changes in homicide rates lie elsewhere.

Mr. Duncan Sandys is inviting large numbers of people to petition for the re-introduction of the death penalty. He makes a particular point about the protection police and prison officers believe they are afforded by capital punishment. A paper by Sellin himself gives statistics about the rate of fatal attacks in six abolitionist state cities and in eleven retentionist state cities. The former turns out to be slightly lower than the latter.

But what also emerges is that police officers in retentionist states believe they are protected by the death penalty, and police officers in abolitionist states believe they are better protected by its absence.

A study of murder in prisons demonstrates that prisoners kill mostly other prisoners, and that the killers are seldom convicted murderers. But that hazards exist in places where so many people are herded together (many from social groups where recourse to violence is familiar) cannot be denied. A quote from yet another paper by Sellin is apt for the situation in this country also: "To imagine that (homicide risks) can be completely removed is visionary, but it is equally visionary to believe that the threat of the death penalty could play any part in reducing them. They can be lessened only by institutional management. This is a task which challenges the imagination and intelligence of administration, because prisons are unnatural institutions, especially the maximum security ones, where the most serious offenders are most likely to be found."

H. J. Klare

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Editors,

British Journal of Criminology.

Dear Sirs,

I was much relieved when I read Dr. H. A. Prins's letter in your July issue on the subject of the shift he sees in your editorial policy. I had assumed that I must be suffering the effects of approaching senility when I found so much of recent *B. J.'s C.* incomprehensible, but hurrah, Dr. Prins says it is your fault not mine!

I would not mind so much if the *Howard Journal* did not seem to be clutching at your coat tails and getting dragged in the same direction. I recognise of course, that you are not a "popular" journal, but you seem now to be getting beyond the reach of the average decently informed non-academic. We all know what a specialist is; must the *Journal* become an example of specialisation—that process in which fewer and fewer know more and more about less and less?

Yours faithfully

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